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ABSTRACT

The papers included in this monograph are related to or are an outcome of a three-year demonstration project undertaken by the Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The project's purposes were to define a role for school social workers in school-community-pupil relations and the concomitant tasks and responsibilities in such a role; to identify the theory and knowledge base necessary for such social work practice; to develop a training program for a school social work specialist in school-community-pupil relations; and to evaluate the process and outcomes of the project. The model of school social work practice developed by this project differs substantially from traditional models because of the following reasons: (1) school conditions and practices that bear adversely on low income and minority students; (2) community conditions that increase the alienation of students and parents from existing schools and social institutions; (3) lack of role clarity among professional pupil personnel workers; and (4) failure to update pupil personnel services to be responsible to the current needs of students. The articles review: (1) the history of school social work; (2) the development of a new model for school social work; (3) the use of change in existing school-community-student relationships; and (4) future directions for school social work. (Author/HLM)

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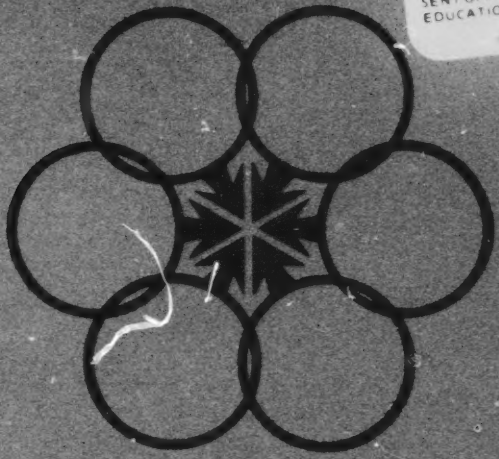

Social Services and the Public Schools

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HE 010 737

Midwest Center/Satellite Consortium
For Planned Change In Pupil Personnel Programs
For Urban Schools

The Midwest Center/Satellite Consortium for Planned Change in Pupil Personnel Programs for Urbana Schools was designed to modify and develop preparation programs providing entry and renewal training for pupil personnel workers, as well as to modify and develop pupil personnel programs providing direct services in schools. The Center was designed as a temporary organization. The three primary areas of focus were: 1) program development 2) staff development, and 3) organizational renewal. Satellites represented a composition of university, school, state department, and community, and were intended to become a fully functioning permanent component of the organizations to which they were attached. All satellites were provided with human and fiscal resources by the "Midwest Center," located at Indiana University within the School of Education, Department of Counseling and Guidance.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The papers included in this monograph are related to or are an outcome of a three-year demonstration project undertaken by the Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.[1] The project's purposes were to define a role for school social workers in school-community-pupil relations and the concomitant tasks and responsibilities in such a role; to identify the theory and knowledge base necessary for such social work practice; to develop a training program for a school social work specialist in school-community-pupil relations; and to evaluate the process and outcomes of the project.[2]

The Model of school social work practice which was developed during the three-year project differs substantially from the traditional clinical model which, for the past several decades, has been in use as a way of helping pupils adjust to the learning opportunities provided in public elementary and secondary schools. Factors that contributed to the need for revisions in school social work practice include major problems found in public school education today: those school conditions and practices that bear adversely upon children and young persons, particularly low income and minority pupils; community and neighborhood conditions that increase alienation of pupils and their parents from social institutions, particularly the public school; confusion about professional roles and the rigid practice boundaries that exist among the various pupil specialists; and failure to modify traditional pupil social services sufficiently or to direct them in imaginative ways toward the most urgent pupil problems. A departure from the usual methods of

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[1]The project was partially funded by the United States Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare through the Midwest Center/Consortium for Planned Change in Pupil Personnel Programs in Urban Schools, Indiana University, Bloomington.

[2]*A Final Program Report from Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Urbana: The School-Community-Pupil Training Program, 1971-74* (Bloomington: The Midwest Center/Consortium for Planned Change in Pupil Personnel Programs for Urban Schools, Indiana University, 1975).

education and training of school social workers seemed needed so that they could intervene appropriately in the complex school and community systems to improve learning opportunities for pupils.

Within this monograph, Lela B. Costin's earlier article, "A Historical Review of School Social Work" is reprinted as background material because it is no longer readily available to social workers employed in public schools, many of whom are uninformed about the origins of their field of practice. An addendum summarizes the professional literature pertinent to social work and the public school in the years since 1968.

Costin's "School Social Work Practice: A New Model" articulates the model of social work in the public schools which was developed during the School-Community-Pupil Training Program referred to above. A contrast is drawn between this form of practice and the more traditional modes of social work practice in the schools in terms of goals and focus, supporting theories, assessment procedures, development of a service plan, and deployment of personnel.

Ione D. Vargus, who served as coordinator of the School-Community-Pupil training program during its three-year demonstration at the Jane Addams School of Social Work describes some of the processes and problems in developing, launching, and maintaining that program. She seeks to respond to questions which have come to her frequently: "What did you do and how did you do it?" In so answering, she discusses processes and problems involved in this different but exciting undertaking: the skepticism about preparing social workers as change agents; public school and university relationships; teaming, both by faculty and by students; and the important process of institutionalization of the program.

The next paper, by Richard J. Anderson, entitled "Introducing Change in School-Community-Pupil Relationships: Maintaining Credibility and Accountability," addresses the need in any system change-oriented practice to develop indicators of accountability within the employer-employee relationships, and for the maintenance of credibility with client systems and professional associates. The means of developing a "plan of operation" is discussed in relation to a problem-situation base.

The concept of team practice, preferably interdisciplinary team practice, receives attention throughout the volume. Notions differ as to how teams are constructed, organized, and tasks are implemented. Ione Vargus in "A Team Approach to Social Work" describes the team models, team leaders, and working styles which were typical of the S-C-P team training experiences.

The Jane Addams School of Social Work at the University of Illinois has maintained from its inception a strong interest in social work services in the schools as a field of social work practice. Early faculty members such as Florence L. Poole, Jane Wille, W. Paul Simon, and John J. Alderson gave national leadership in developing conferences, workshops, and contributions to the professional literature in an effort to advance and strengthen social work practice in the schools. Consistent with that strong identification with school social work, Jane Addams faculty members have continued to assess this field of practice in an attempt to develop new and effective modes of service which meet the changing needs of school pupils. The final section of this monograph reflects that commitment to demonstration and dissemination. Reported here are the comments and concerns voiced at a recent conference on school social work, held under the auspices of the Jane Addams School of Social Work and the Midwest Center/Consortium.

Social work practice in the public schools appears to be in a transitional period as its practitioners and academicians work together to develop new approaches to helping school children find equality of educational opportunity. The need for new learning materials, conferences, and other forms of professional interaction within this field of practice is critical. It is our hope that this volume will meet one aspect of that need.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to DeWayne J. Kurpius, who served as director of the Consortium for Planned Change in Pupil Personnel Services for Urban Schools, and to faculty members of the Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Dr. Kurpius and his staff and our faculty colleagues offered many challenging questions

and useful ideas during the course of the School-Community-Pupil demonstration project.

Lela B. Costin

Ione D. Vargus

CHAPTER II

A Historical Review of School Social Work

Lela B. Costin

Assumptions concerning school social work should be reappraised so that effective methods can be developed to meet neighborhood and school problems.

Under the aegis of the U.S. Office of Education an analysis was recently completed of the tasks performed by school social workers in an attempt to find a basis for assigning responsibilities to social workers having different levels of education or training.[1] The study developed a definition of school social work, that is, a description of the content of that field of social work practice. The definition was based on a factor analysis of the ratings of professional school social workers of the relative importance of a range of tasks for the attainment of social work goals within a public school setting. The resulting description largely reflected the school social work literature of the forties and fifties and showed little or no general response to the pressing concerns of the education and social work professions in the sixties: for example, the learning problems of many unsuccessful school children and youth; the underlying conditions in the school, neighborhood, and community that contribute to their difficulties; or new approaches of potential value in the delivery of services to them.

How did school social work arrive at a point in its history at which practitioners in the field define their endeavors in relation to tasks and goals that are not attuned to the urgent problems of today's school children and youth? A review of the professional literature since school social work began in this country casts some light on this question.

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[1] Lela B. Costin, An Analysis of the Tasks in School Social Work As a Basis for Improved Use of Staff, Final Report to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, Project No. 6-8315, Grant OEG 3-6-068315-1306, February 28, 1968.

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The period 1906-1940

The Beginnings

School social work began at about the same time, although independently, in three cities: New York, Boston, and Hartford during the school year 1906-07. This development originated outside the school system itself, and private agencies and civic organizations in these localities supported the work until school boards accepted its value and agreed to administer and finance it as an integral part of the school system.

The first instance in which school social work was established and supported by the school system itself without prior demonstration occurred in Rochester in 1915. The Board of Education explained:

> [This is] the first step in an attempt to meet a need of which the school system has been conscious for some time. It is an undisputed fact that in the environment of the child outside of school are to be found forces which will often times thwart the school in its endeavors. . . . The appointment of a visiting teacher is an attempt on the part of the school to meet its responsibility for the whole welfare of the child . . . [and] to secure maximum cooperation between the home and the school.[2]

By 1921 school social work had been expanded into the middle western states, more often inaugurated by the Board of Education than by private agencies, and it had been introduced into junior and senior high schools. A national professional association had emerged—the National Association of Visiting Teachers.

Early Influences

The early twentieth century was a fertile period for the development of school social work. For although its beginnings in different cities reflected individual circumstances and somewhat different specified purposes, each introduction of school

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2 *56th Report of the Board of Education*, Rochester, New York, 1911, 1912, 1913, as quoted in Julius John Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher Movement, with Special Reference to Administrative Relationships*, 2nd ed. (Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York, 1925), 5.

social work service represented a common response to certain changed conditions and new needs within communities. Among the important influences in its development were (1) passage of compulsory school attendance laws, (2) new knowledge about individual differences among children and their capacity to respond to improved conditions, and (3) realization of the strategic place of school and education in the lives of children and youth, coupled with concern for the relevancy of education to the child's present and future. Each of these influences will be discussed briefly.

Compulsory Education. As concern spread about the illiteracy of immigrant children, and then about the illiteracy of American-born children who were found in factories rather than in schools, attention focused on the child's right to at least a minimum of education and the state's responsibility to secure this for all children. The way in which various social institutions and provisions of society interlock was clearly illustrated by the necessity for concurrent progress in securing child labor legislation and compulsory school attendance statutes. For example, it was noted that children could scarcely realize the benefits of child labor legislation if they were not enabled or required to go to school and were only turned out of the factories into the streets; nor could they be effectively required to go to school if the law permitted them to work.

To secure legislation was not enough; the extent to which it was enforced was crucial to attaining the intended goals for children. Not all parents understood and accepted the importance of education for their children as provided for in new legislation. Lack of sufficiently high wages for adults in a family increased the wish of parents for their children to be old enough to become wage earners. Without compulsory birth registration to make children's ages a matter of public record, it was easy for children to claim their "working papers," or "poverty permits," before they were legally of age to do so, and it was common for children to speak of their "real age" and their "working age." Poor enforcement of compulsory school attendance statutes was also aggravated by the lack of sufficient school accommodations in many cities and the existence of "waiting lists." Florence Kelley,

in her capacity as chief factory inspector in Illinois, documented in her annual report of 1895 the failure of school authorities in some places to supply facilities for children who were "ready and willing to go to school." For example, "in Alton, while 200 children under 14 years of age were at work in the glass works, there were on the list of applicants for admission to the schools 240 children in excess of the seats provided."[3]

The lack of effective enforcement of school attendance laws led to such studies as Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge's on nonattendance problems in the Chicago schools. This study caused them to argue a need for school attendance officers, and they held that these should be social workers, since the reasons for nonattendance were interwoven with the social ills of the community, such as poverty, lack of adequate adult wage levels, illiteracy, and ill health—conditions that existed in many families not known to any social agency and only in contact with the school.[4]

Attention to Individual Differences. As legislatures in various states extended the scope of compulsory education laws, schools were required to provide not only for larger groups of children but also for children of a wider age distribution and a greater range and variety of abilities and interests. Previously no great concern had existed in most schools about the "different" or troublesome child; he did not have to attend and could drop out of school without question, or the school could drop him from the rolls, since it had no legal responsibility to provide him with education. Compulsory school attendance laws, however, required teachers and other school personnel to look to other fields for understanding of the varying characteristics of the children in their classrooms.

Social workers contributed by helping teachers and other school personnel understand how forces outside the school affected the child's ability to use the educational opportunity that was provided. In addition, some social workers had ideas

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[3]Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools: A Study of the Social Aspects of the Compulsory Education and Child Labor Legislation of Illinois* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1917), 423.

[4]Abbott and Breckinridge, *Truancy and Non-Attendance. . .*, 241.

about how certain groups of children not in school could be helped to use education not only by improvements in home conditions but also by adaptations within the school program. For example, in 1900 a Henry Street Settlement resident was permitted by the New York City Board of Education to form the first class for ungraded pupils, children who were "unequal to the routine classwork because of mental defects." The settlement provided equipment, secured treatment resources in community clinics, and "made every effort to interest members of the School Board and the public generally in this class of children." Materials for lunch were provided, and the older girls in the class prepared and served the meals, the first to be provided in the grade schools. "Occasionally the approval of the families would be expressed in extra donations, and in the beginning this sometimes took the form of a bottle of beer. Every day one pupil was permitted to invite an adult member of his family to the luncheon, which led naturally to an exchange of visits between members of the family and the teacher." From this early experimental class a separate department in the public schools was created in 1908, and by 1915 there were 3,000 children throughout the city "under the care of specially trained teachers who [had] liberty to adapt the school work to the children's peculiar needs."[5]

Concern for the Relevancy of Education to the Child's Present and Future. Social workers of the early twentieth century were keenly aware of the strategic place of school and education in the lives of children and youth and were impressed by the opportunities presented to the school. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, addressing the National Education Association in 1914, spoke of the magnitude of the school's task and the extent to which its importance had gripped the conscience of the community: "To the social worker the school appears as an instrument of almost unlimited possibilities, not only for passing on to the next generation the culture and wisdom of the past, but for testing present

[5]Lillian D. Wald, *The House on Henry Street* (Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1915), 117-120 *passim.*

social relationships and for securing improvements in social conditions."[6] Her plea was for a closer study of failures of the school and the consequent loss in social well-being and for a more effective use of the school's opportunity for "simple and natural contacts" with the families of the community.

At about the same time other social workers in settlement houses were registering concern about the necessity for the school to relate itself more closely to the present and future lives of the children. For example, "Intelligent social workers seize opportunities for observation, and almost unconsciously develop methods to meet needs. They see conditions as they are, and become critical of systems as they act and react upon the child or fail to reach him at all. . . . Where the school fails, it appears to the social workers to do so because it makes education a thing apart—because it separates its work from all that makes up the child's life outside the classroom."[7]

Julius John Oppenheimer noted that during the early twentieth century the influence of the social settlements upon the development of school social work was very strong, "both in respect to the type of methods used and in respect to the development of social centers in the schools."[8] For example, settlement house residents noted the value placed upon education for their children by many of the immigrant poor and the difficulties the children experienced in pursuing their schoolwork. One response was recorded from the Henry Street Settlement in 1907, where study rooms were set aside so that boys and girls from the crowded tenements could find a quiet, restful place in which to do their work as well as receive some tutoring. Extra reading materials for all ages were provided, and additional aids that, under other circumstances, would be given by parents or older brothers and sisters. Similar study rooms were then taken over for maintenance by the Board of Education in numerous New York City schools, " 'thanks to

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[6]Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Some Aspects of the Public School from a Social Worker's Point of View, in *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association* (National Education Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1914), 45.

[7]Wald, *The House . . .*, 106.

[8]Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher. . . .*, 2.

the example set by the settlement,' the superintendent of the New York school system reported."[9]

Social workers in settlements stated their belief that "the schools in a great city have an additional responsibility, as many of the pupils are deprived of home training because of extreme poverty. . . ." They noted the insufficient numbers of visiting teachers to bring school and home together and observed that the methods of the schools "never seemed . . . sufficiently related to the home conditions of vast numbers of the city's population." Attempts to bridge the gap and influence the schools were recorded. As one example, Housekeeping Centers were established in which girls were taught homemaking in a typical tenement flat, using only the kinds of equipment and supplies that people could procure for themselves from shops in a typical neighborhood. The report went on to express the hope that schools would fully realize that "education is preparation for life" and that such a center might be attached to every public school.[10]

Early Definition of School Social Work

At the annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1916 the general subject for the program of the Children's Committee was "Public Education and Social Service." The author of one paper undertook to define the tasks of the visiting teacher on the basis of data obtained from a questionnaire sent to a number of cities; the results showed considerable uniformity in organization, type of work, and method. Two phases of work were noted: "The first is interpreting to the school the child's out-of-school life; supplementing the teacher's knowledge of the child . . . so that she may be able to teach the whole child, . . . assisting the school to know the life of a neighborhood, in order that it may train the children for the life to which they look forward. Secondly, the visiting teacher interprets to the parents the demands of the school and explains the peculiar difficulties and needs of the child."[11]

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[9]Wald, *The House . . .*, 103.

[10]Wald, *The House . . .*, 107-10 *passim.*

[11]Jane F. Culbert, Visiting Teachers and Their Activities, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (Hildmann Printing Co., Chicago, 1916), 595.

Expansion in the Twenties

School social work underwent a rapid expansion in the twenties, largely as a result of a series of three-year demonstrations in various communities under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund. After a consideration of different promising activities in the field of child welfare, the fund undertook a program for the prevention of delinquency in 1921. In the prospectus of the program it was emphasized that "the visiting teacher does preventive work in the field of children's maladjustments, including juvenile delinquency, that the school holds the strategic position in regard to child welfare work, and that sound social case work is valuable in making the work of the school more effective."[12] Consequently, among its other activities in relation to delinquency prevention, the Commonwealth Fund placed thirty visiting teachers in as many communities comprising both rural and urban areas.[13] Boards of education responded by establishing visiting teacher positions in other communities. The National Association of Visiting Teachers, in turn, grew stronger in numbers and increased its efforts to establish high standards of work among its members.

The literature of the early twenties continued to emphasize the significant role of the school in the lives of children and the school as "the strategic center of child welfare work."[14] For example, the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* in 1923 carried a group of papers given in division meetings on the general subject of "The School." One typical excerpt follows:

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[12]*Annual Report, 1922, Commonwealth Fund,* January 1923, as quoted in Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher . . .*, 10-11.

[13]Commonwealth Fund demonstrations were carried out in these thirty communities: Birmingham, Alabama; Bluefield, West Virginia; Burlington, Vermont; Columbus, Georgia; Detroit, Michigan; Durham, North Carolina; Hutchinson, Kansas; Huron County, Ohio; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Lincoln, Nebraska; Monmouth County, New Jersey; Richmond, Virginia; Rochester, Pennsylvania; Sioux City, Iowa; Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Warren, Ohio; Coatesville, Pennsylvania; Omaha, Nebraska; Charlotte, North Carolina; Chisholm, Minnesota; San Diego, California; Rock Springs, Wyoming; Racine, Wisconsin; Berkeley, California; Butte, Montana (later transferred to Winona, Minnesota); Eugene, Oregon (later transferred to Portland, Oregon); Tucson, Arizona; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Pocatello, Idaho; Boone County, Missouri. In twenty-five of the communities the boards of education continued the work after the completion of the demonstration.

[14]Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher . . .*, 28.

> Knowing its power and influence in the community because of its authority over the child and hence its open sesame to the family, the school should seek for assistance through every avenue of science and service to remedy the ills of childhood and manhood. These menaces and ills disclose themselves in the school more quickly and concretely than anywhere else. . . . But working together the social worker and the teacher will come to an appreciation of the school's strategic position in the community because of its hold on the child, a position which can be strengthened and clarified by constant interchange of method and practice.[15]

Another author took a less hopeful view. "We have a few visiting teachers, but our school rooms are in almost total ignorance of what goes on in the homes or streets or back alleys of the community." He warned that "the school occupies a strategic position for holding the mind of childhood to futilities" and for "being able to prevent the development of that freed social intelligence without which civilization has no future." He speculated about needed qualities in school program and organization and what could be accomplished "if . . . social workers were willing to lose their jobs for the sake of such schools."[16]

Primary Function Reaffirmed

The principal activity in school social work continued to be home-school-community liaison. Oppenheimer carried out a study to obtain a more detailed list of tasks than had been delineated in the 1916 definition of function. His study method included an analysis of three hundred case reports, checked and expanded after interviews with visiting teachers; it resulted in a list of thirty-two " 'core' functions of visiting teacher service."[17] An appraisal of the nature of these tasks affirms the emphasis on school-family-community liaison as

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[15]M. Edith Campbell, The Strategic Position of the School in Programs of Social Work, from the Point of View of the Social Worker, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1923), 363-64.

[16]Joseph K. Hart, The Relations of the School to Social Work, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1923), 365.

[17]Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher . . .*, 121-26.

the main body of school social work activity. Half the tasks involved helping the child's family use resources in the community.[18] An additional eight tasks involved direct work with parents in relation to the child.[19] Other tasks were concerned with interpreting the child or his environment to school personnel.[20]

Not found in Oppenheimer's list of core functions were tasks involving a one-to-one ongoing relationship of a visiting teacher with an individual child to help him with his personal problems. The visiting teacher did confer sometimes with the child in school, usually at recess, noon, before school, or when he was being examined by the school nurse. Nevertheless, the targets of the visiting teacher's activity on behalf of the child were the home, the school, the community, and the school conditions that affected him.

One of the important functions of the school social worker, Oppenheimer stated, was to aid in the reorganization of school administration and of school practice by supplying evidence of unfavorable conditions that underlay children's school difficulties and by pointing out needed changes. "It is of great value to the school to have the benefit of the point of view of one who is officially connected with its staff, who is in thorough sympathy with its plans and methods and yet constructively critical toward them; one who adds to this a vision of the outside life and social environment of the children who are its pupils. . . . The visiting teacher who is not constantly bringing in a picture of the needs of individual children as well as the

[18] For example: "Advise parents of the community agencies which will aid them in present difficulty." "Refer to and secure the cooperation of relief agencies when the family is in need of help." "Secure the cooperation of recreational agencies, libraries, Big Brothers and Big Sisters, in the prevention of possible delinquency."

[19] For example: "Confer with parents to enlist their cooperation when the child shows signs of falling below the school's standards of scholarship, conduct, etc." "Aid mothers in planning their work so that it will not be a handicap and a burden to children." "Confer with parents in regard to misconduct and endeavor to change the child's interests or help him to drop bad associates."

[20] For example: "Secure the psychological examination of children suspected of mental deficiency." "Secure personal and social data for the principal and the teachers which can be utilized in making educational procedure more effective."

needs of groups of school children loses a rare opportunity to aid in educational progress."[21]

Influence of the Mental Hygiene Movement

In addition to the expansion of school social work into more communities and the reaffirmation of its primary function as one of home-school-community liaison, the literature of the twenties reflects the beginning of modifications in practice in response to the mental hygiene movement of the time. The increasing recognition of individual differences among children and interest on the part of the mental hygienists in understanding behavior problems led to an effort on the part of visiting teachers to develop techniques for the prevention of social maladjustments. References can be found in the literature of the day to the newly recognized importance of understanding the emotional reactions of the child to his experiences in school. Mental hygiene clinics were established in various schools, and the social worker began to assist in the diagnosis and treatment of "nervous" and "difficult" children.

Although warning against considering a school mental hygiene program to be principally a psychiatric service in which the visiting teacher would serve as an adjunct to the clinic, Jessie Taft wrote:

> The only practical and effective way to increase the mental health of a nation is through its school system. Homes are too inaccessible. The school has the time of the child and the power to do the job. It is for us who represent mental hygiene and its application through social case work to help the school and the teacher; to see their vital responsibility for an education which shall mean the personal adjustment of the individual through the activities of the group.[22]

Shifting Goals in the Thirties

The depression of the thirties retarded the growth of school social work, as it did the development of all programs of social

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[21]Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher. . .*, 134.

[22]Jessie Taft, The Relation of the School to the Mental Health of the Average Child, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1923), 398.

services for children. Services provided by visiting teachers were either abolished or seriously cut back in volume in many communities as a result of the schools' efforts to remain solvent.[23] In addition, the daily activity of school social workers was affected by the changed conditions, for the schools, "panicky about the physical needs of their pupils urged visiting teachers to set about supplying these, with the result that in some locations there was little time for actual case work, since hot lunches, clothing shops and other endeavors were engaging their attention."[24] As the "emergency" lenghtened, however, and federal programs were introduced into communities to provide relief to families, school social workers turned their attention to casework with individual children.

In the selection of cases for service, priority shifted from the dependent and delinquent child; concern was expressed that programs labeled "for the prevention of delinquency," like those sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund in the twenties, "stigmatized and therefore negated many possibilities for constructure service." School social workers began to avoid an image of authority or involvement with law-enforcement duties, such as attendance, and emphasis was given to the goal of "happy, wholesome childhood for all children." As a consequence, school social workers attempted to establish their work "in good average or superior school districts in many cities before attempting work in less privileged ones, in order to avoid any stigma and make it possible to work with children coming from all types of homes."[25]

As members of the social work profession in schools and other agencies devoted themselves to the refinement of method and techniques, some leading social workers in the thirties gave warning of the need to see the role and potential of social casework in broad social perspective. For example, Charlotte Towle, in discussiong casework within the schools, enjoined:

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[23]C. W. Areson, Status of Children's Work in the United States, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1933), 91-103.

[24]Gladys E. Hall, Changing Concepts in Visiting Teacher Work, *Visiting Teachers Bulletin*, 12:3 (September 1936).

[25]Hall, Changing Concepts . . . , 4 *passim.*

> We are coming not only to recognize the futility of persisting in situations which are beyond the scope of case work help, but to realize also our social responsibility for revealing the inadequacy of social case work in these instances, in order that interest and effort may be directed toward social action. . . . I can imagine . . . that within the school the visiting teacher frequently is asked to compensate to the child for what the school lacks. Because of the absence of certain educational facilities the child's needs are not being met and the visiting teacher may be asked to take him on as a case work problem because certain behavior has been induced by the school inadequacies. In such instances her responsibility lies in making case work limitations known, and in revealing the educational treatment issue.[26]

In another examination of social casework and its proper use in the critical times of the thirties, Bertha Reynolds wrote:

> It is clear that the contribution of social case work is to supplement the best public administration, not to struggle to make up for the mistakes of a poor one. If a faulty school curriculum is causing every year thousands of school failures, it would be stupid to engage visiting teachers to work individually with the unsuccessful children. Why not change the curriculum and do away with that particular problem at one stroke?[27]

Generally, however, school social workers continued their efforts to ensure "as far as possible the development of a well-balanced personality for all children." Emphasis was placed on the social worker in the school as a helping person whose service enabled children to achieve "acceptance and use of familiar school routine," largely through interviews used "to come . . . close to the real feeling of a child."[28]

In contrast to the statements of the early settlement workers who had urged school social workers to become critical of the

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[26]Charlotte Towle, Discussion (of "Changing Concepts in Visiting Teacher Work"), *Visiting Teachers Bulletin*, 12:15-16 (September 1936).

[27]Bertha C. Reynolds, Social Case Work: What Is It? What Is Its Place in the World Today?, *The Family*, 16:238 (December 1935).

[28]Edith M. Everett, The Importance of Social Work in a School Program, *The Family*, 19:3, 4 (March 1938).

pattern of behavior and achievement set by the schools as they act and react upon the child, Edith Everett in 1938 asserted that the school social worker should accept existing school standards:

> Indeed, they are her allies, limiting the kinds of demands that may be made upon her—freeing her . . . to concentrate on helping children accept them as impersonal and inevitable as the change of seasons and to put their energy into growth rather than dissipate it in fighting or evasion. This should not imply that attendance laws and achievement standards may not—or should not—change. They will, but not through children's fighting them, or social workers' ignoring or criticizing them. The case worker in the school must accept them, recognizing their value to her not only in the helpful limitation they provide, but equally in the fact that her acceptance affirms her place as an inherent part of the school.[29]

Everett also spoke against the practice of some visiting teachers who took on a broader community responsibility, outside the field of casework: "My own feeling, as a result of a good many years of experience in connection with a city school system, is that we can be most helpful by limiting our professional responsibility to doing, as well as we humanly can, our case work job within the school itself."[30]

The period 1940-1960

Emphasis on Casework Service

With the beginning of the decade of the forties school social work began another period of expansion into additional communities and moved toward being generally accepted as an integral part of school systems. The volume of school social

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[29]Everett, The Importance of Social Work . . . , 5-6.

[30]Everett, The Importance of Social Work . . . , 6-7.

work literature increased markedly,[31] and it showed a near unanimity of views from 1940 to at least 1960 about the appropriate function of school social work and about the appropriate methods and techniques to be employed. If the literature of the period correctly reflects its practice, then a transition was fully completed from the earlier focus on school and neighborhood conditions and social change to a clinical orientation in relation to the personality needs of the individual school child.

It was generally agreed that social casework was the primary method of treatment and that the emotionally maladjusted child was the target of concern. Ruth Smalley described school social work as "a specialized form of social casework. . . . It is a method of helping individual children use what the school offers them."[32] A major study of the practice of school social work in twelve communities in 1953 affirmed the emphasis on social casework and noted a range in the concept of casework service from one focused principally on symptoms to one involving full study and treatment in a clinical team program.[33] Joseph Hourihan, in a study of the duties and responsibilities of the visiting teacher in Michigan, recommended limiting work to "those duties and responsibilities which are related to assisting

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[31]Many of the articles on school social work in this period were published in the *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*. This journal was discontinued when that organization became a part of a single professional organization in 1955, the National Association of Social Workers. For representative social work literature of the period see:
Mildred Sikkema, *Report of a Study of School Social Work Practice in Twelve Communities* (American Association of Social Workers, New York, 1953).
Grace Lee, ed., *Helping the Troubled School Child: Selected Readings in School Social Work, 1935-1955* (National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1959).
Virginia Quattlebaum, ed., *School Social Work Practice, Proceedings of the Workshop Held at Lake Forest Academy, Lake Forest, Illinois, July 1-6, 1956* (National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1958).
Social Work in the Schools, Selected Papers (National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1960).
John C. Nebo, ed., *Administration of School Social Work, Proceedings of the Workshop Held at Lake Forest Academy, Lake Forest, Illinois, July 13-17, 1958* (National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1960).

[32]Ruth E. Smalley, School Social Work as a Part of the School Program, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 22:51-52 (March 1947).

[33]Sikkema, *Report of a Study . . .*, 27.

individual emotionally maladjusted children" and extending and improving service by giving more attention to referrals to other casework agencies, undertaking more consultation with teachers in relation to individual children, and making more extensive use of psychiatric consultation.

School social work was carried on primarily through the individual interview, and the casework relationship established thereby was the key to the help offered the child. "It is a relationship within which the child can trust himself to be himself and know that he is accepted as an individual."[35] Helen Weston identified the school social worker's casework philosophy as one of "relationship therapy" in which "the client is helped to identify and screen his feelings about his problems" as a means of deciding what he will do about them.[36] Dollie Walker summed up the nature of school social work thus: "In short it involves helping the child to take responsibility for that part of his problem that is appropriately his, helping his parents to feel the same concern felt by the school's personnel for the child's disequilibrium in school, helping parents and children utilize existing community agencies if the need of the child can best be met this way, and helping the schools to individualize the child."[37]

The literature of the period was descriptive for the most part, relying on selected case examples to portray successful work with school children who were causing concern among school personnel because of symptoms ascribed to emotional maladjustment. A study conducted by Mildred Sikkema, for example, revealed that in all communities examined a large proportion of referrals to the school social worker stemmed from behavior

[34]Joseph P. Hourihan, The Duties and Responsibilities of the Visiting Teacher, doctoral dissertation (Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1952), 165, 169, 172.

[35]Lee, *Helping the Troubled School Child . . .*, 10.

[36]Helen E. Weston, School Social Work 1953, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 30:21 (December 1954).

[37]Dollie R. Walker, A Study of Elementary School Teachers' Perceptions and Evaluation of the Role of the School Social Worker, doctoral dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1963), 7.

or personality problems,[38] in contrast to a 1923 study that showed that the largest number of referrals stemmed from maladjustment in scholarship and "deficiency in lessons."[39]

One demonstration of the use of the group work method in direct work with children was reported in 1955. It was undertaken on the assumption that although school social work consisted primarily of casework with children and parents, with concomitant relationships with teachers and others, children might also be helped to resolve some of their problems in interpersonal relationships through the use of a selected group experience. "The primary objective . . . was to help the child in his relationship to his peers and teachers."[40] In addition to this group work demonstration, a limited amount of work was reported by school social workers with parent education groups.[41] Nevertheless, school social work continued to be essentially a casework service to children.

Work with Others in the Child's Behalf

In addition to direct work with school children, school social workers during the forties and fifties continued to include varying amounts of casework with parents in their definition of school social work. The intent was to help the parents perceive and share the school's concern for the child and to secure support of the parents for the social worker's activity with the child. Emphasis was placed on interpreting the child's problem to the parents, dealing with their feelings about it, relieving tensions in the family situation, and enabling the parents to make necessary adjustments in their relationships with the child and to take action within the realm of their parental responsibility. If parents had problems in line more with "family casework responsibility" than with "school social work responsibility,"

[38]Sikkema, *Report of a Study . . .*, 24.

[39]Jane Culbert, *The Visiting Teacher in the United States* (Public Education Association of the City of New York, New York, 1923), 28.

[40]Paul Simon, Social Group Work in the Schools, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 31:3 (September 1955).

[41]For example, Aline B. Auerbach, The Special Contribution of the School Social Worker in Work with Parent Groups, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 30:10-19 (December 1954).

then a referral to a community resource was expected. However, no clear criteria emerged for making this differentiation.

Most of the school social work literature in relation to non-attendance focused on the emotional component of individual maladjustment that contributed to the school absence, and considerable interest was manifested in the dynamics of school phobia. There was also, however, some minor but significant attention to the constructive use of authority to promote school attendance[42] and a renewed awareness of authority as a dynamic and a foundation for help.[43]

Frequent mention can be found in the literature of the importance of differentiating the school social worker's role from that of other school personnel. Although lacking clear definitions and documentation, there were numerous references to the school social worker's "special competence and skill." In any case, effective working relationships with other school personnel were considered essential to the success of a school social work program.

Consultation to teachers (interviews with teachers about children whom they might not refer but wished to discuss for a variety of reasons) was stressed increasingly in the forties and fifties. It was used in most instances to interpret children's emotional difficulties and to aid teachers in an early recognition of personality difficulty.[44]

Collaboration with other school personnel in relation to the educational program received some attention in the literature, usually stressing the importance of differentiating the casework relationship from the interprofessional relationship. An expanded view of the potential of collaboration was set forth by Sikkema late in the forties: While acknowledging that

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[42]Robert C. Taber, Children Caught in Crosscurrents: The Rights and Responsibilities of Children and Parents, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 29:12-21 (June 1954).

[43]Clara B. Bryant, The Evolution and Broadening Concepts of Attendance Service, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 30:19-29 (March 1955).

[44]John J. Alderson, The Specific Content of School Social Work, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 27:3-13 (June 1952).

"case work service with children in school and with their parents is the core of the contribution of the school social worker," she stressed an opportunity to go beyond helping school personnel increase their understanding of human behavior—the opportunity to help them translate this understanding into practice in curriculum formulation and planning, in the classroom group process, or in school administration.[45] At the same time at which this point of view appeared, Florence Poole pointed out in a description of the characteristics of school social work that "the school social worker, as a member of the school staff, also participates with the administration and other staff members in developing the program of the school and in helping to formulate policies and procedures."[46] Examples in the literature of such participation in policy making were infrequent, however. John Nebo cited one instance in which school social workers were primarily instrumental in changing an unsound administrative practice—allowing uniformed police officers to come to the school and take children to the police station for questioning without the consent of their parents; this change was accomplished after two years of effort through a series of conferences and individual contacts with police and school officials.[47]

School social workers participated in community activities in varying degrees. Sikkema found in her study of school social work practice that when they did so, it was usually with PTA groups or with parent study groups or civic groups or through membership in a community agency board. Moreover, school social workers were found to participate only very slightly in community planning related to three matters that are specifically significant to the school: housing, broad health and welfare programs, and playground or recreational facilities.[48]

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[45]Mildred Sikkema, An Analysis of the Structure and Practice of School Social Work Today, *Social Service Review*, 23:447 (December 1949).

[46]Florence Poole, An Analysis of the Characteristics of School Social Work, *Social Service Review*, 23:456 (December 1949).

[47]John C. Nebo, Interpretation of School Social Welfare Services to Educators and Other Professionals Who Serve the Schools, *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers*, 30:6 (March 1955).

[48]Sikkema, *Report of a Study . . .*, 32.

Attention to Deleterious School Conditions

One article in the school social work literature of the fifties stands out as a reflection of concern about certain school conditions that impinged on the children's well-being, a concern that had been characteristic of the early founders of school social work and became an issue again in the sixties. Making a plea to school social workers to assume responsibility for interpreting the problem of attendance to school policy makers, Robert Taber listed certain school practices that he identified as contributing to a lack of responsibility on the part of children and parents: "(1) We tend to rob children of their individuality, their most precious possession. . . . (2) Although we recognize the importance of adapting an educational program to individual needs, . . . we still have a tendency to provide education on a mass production and assembly-line basis. . . . Likewise, we tend to establish a code of behavior to which we expect the child to conform. . . . (3) We also have a tendency to sap the vigor of our children by substituting artificiality and inflexibility for vital experiences. . . . (4) Our confusion and vacillation over discipline are contagious to children. . . . (5) Despite the strides . . . made in developing parent-teacher associations, there are still too many schools in which parents and teachers have only a restrained or nodding acquaintance. . . ."[49]

The period 1960-1968

Changing Goals and Methods

The rapid expansion of the country's young population, viewed in relation to some of the critical social problems of the sixties, has necessitated a shift in direction for school social work. Increasingly, the school has been faced with a demand from the community for educational innovations reflective of the complex characteristics of the community and so geared to meet the varying educational needs of different economic and sociocultural groups in the school area. School social work literature has begun to urge a transition to new goals and methods of work as a response to the urgent social problems affecting large numbers of school children and youth.

[49]Taber, Children Caught in Cross-currents . . . , 13-16 *passim.*

In a publication of the U.S. Office of Education, Horace Lundberg concentrates on "school social work in transition," and he notes such evidences of transition as these: (1) an attempt by school social workers to evaluate the appropriate balance between professional time devoted to direct services and consultative services to other school staff members; (2) increasing attention to group work as a school social work method; (3) concern about establishing an effective organizational relationship with other pupil personnel services; (4) the effect on school social work pgorams of education's involvement in seeking solutions to the problem of nonattendance; and (5) a growing awareness of the need for all youth to develop social and economic competencies.[50]

During the sixties school social work literature has been characterized by a new awareness of the school as a social system[51] and a greater readiness of the professions of education and social work to collaborate in behalf of school children "unable to utilize educational opportunities fully because of social, emotional, and cultural problems. . . ."[52]

There has also been renewed attention to developing the use of additional social work methods in the schools. The interpretation of school social work as a casework service, which prevailed for at least thirty years, has begun to give way in some school systems to experimentation with new methods of practice to prevent, treat, or control problems of social functioning shown by school children and youth. The Council on Social Work in the Schools of the National

[50]Horace W. Lundberg, ed., *School Social Work, A Service of Schools,* OE-31007, Bulletin 1964, No. 15 (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 1964).

[51]Arlien Johnson, *School Social Work: Its Contribution to Professional Education* (National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1962).

[52]Robert H. Beck, ed., *Society and the Schools: Communication Challenge to Education and Social Work* (National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1965), 3.

Association of Social Workers has established a committee on work with groups in the school setting, and the social work literature has begun to urge broader participation by social workers in the schools, utilizing their knowledge of group process and their skills in group treatment.[53]

In a significant progress report of research Robert Vinter and Rosemary Sarri describe an effective group work approach to such school problems as the tendency of some youths to drop out of school before graduation from high school, underachievement and academic failure among intellectually capable pupils, and the conduct of pupils who are disruptive to the school. The group work reported involved innovations in group work practice based on a conception of pupil "malperformance patterns" as *"resultants of the interaction of both pupil characteristics and school conditions."*[54] The major types of activities undertaken by the school social workers included (1) direct work with pupils, (2) mediation with teachers and other school personnel focused on specific pupils in difficulty, (3) consultation to teachers directed toward improvement of classroom patterns, modification of teacher perception, or change in school policy and procedures, and (4) negotiation with families and agencies to resolve a particular problem situation.[55] The researchers' belief that school practices and conditions are a significant factor in pupil malperformance led to such conclusions as these: (1) "School social work practitioners must address themselves more fully to the conditions of the school, and not limit their efforts to contacts with pupils." (2) "Social workers in schools occupy a strategic location. They have the opportunity to assist teachers and administrators in identifying those school practices and arrangements that inadvertently . . . curtail learning and adjustment." (3) The social worker in the schools must "retain dual perspectives": he must find ways of

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[53]Virginia L. Crowthers, The School as a Group Setting, *Social Work Practice, 1963,* Selected Papers, 90th Annual Forum, National Conference on Social Welfare (Columbia University Press, New York, 1963), 70-83.

[54]Robert D. Vinter and Rosemary C. Sarri, Malperformance in the Public School: A Group Work Approach, *Social Work,* 10:4 (January 1965).

[55]Vinter and Sarri, Malperformance . . . , 11-12.

serving specific individuals while simultaneously dealing with the sources of pupil difficulties within the school.[56]

In addition to a growing amount of social work with groups in the school setting, some schools have begun to incorporate into their social work practice new ways of working with the community. Though school social workers have long acknowledged a responsibility for certain aspects of community organization, they have defined this responsibility for many years in limited terms principally as a means of enhancing their casework activities. But with renewed concern about the need for a more effective liaison between school and community in the face of neighborhood and school problems, reinforced by the trend toward embracing theory and knowledge of the social sciences, a broader kind of community work based in the school setting and aimed toward increasing the competencies of school children has been demonstrated. Hourihan describes this community work, as it was taking place in the Detroit schools, in 1965, in these terms:

> The community social worker not only reports back to the members of the school staff the dynamics of the community and the societal factors operating there, but . . . enables the members of the community to ask questions, to raise issues, to re-structure those elements of the community that do not effectively meet the needs of children and youth, and to engage in programs provided by and in the school. . . . The plan for the community worker in the school . . . is the latest step in implementing the community-school concept which has been theorized by educators and sociologists for many years.[57]

Further, Hourihan forecasts that practice of this kind will become more widespread as school social workers and educators become aware that a totally effective school social work program cannot be carried out without such breadth of focus. He notes, as well, its applicability to neighborhoods of all income

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[56]Vinter and Sarri, Malperformance . . . , 12-13 *passim*.

[57]Joseph P. Hourihan, Social Work in the Schools: New Developments in Theory, Knowledge, and Practice, paper presented at the NASW 10th Anniversary Symposium on Social Work Practice and Knowledge, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 21-23, 1965 (mimeographed).

levels rather than to the "underprivileged" where the community work he describes took place.

Other articles in the social work literature of the decade point up the belief of some school social workers that the "basic conventional assumptions" of school social work need reappraisal so that more effective methods and techniques can be developed[58] to fit the rapidly changing social scene. Concern is expressed that "increased professionalization has tended to produce rigidity" and that school social work is in danger of failing in inventiveness in the face of social change, new problems, and the need for innovations.[59]

Social work and related disciplines have been giving attention to the mental health issues involved in public school education, well illustrated by the theme of the 1967 annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association—"The Impact of Schools on Human Development: Critical Appraisal of a Social Institution." Sibylle Escalona, in emphasizing the theme, suggests the following obligations of specialists, including school social workers:

(1) to work with educators, school administrators and school boards to identify and correct glaring obstacles to learning that exist in ill-equipped, understaffed and otherwise handicapped schools; (2) to join educators in their search for teaching methods most appropriate to different age groups, different subject matter, and children from different cultural backgrounds; (3) to apply our specialized skills to the study of the learning process and its impediments, and on this basis to suggest lines of action that promise to enhance and sustain the educative impact of the school; (4) on the assumption that the caliber of teachers is the single most important factor in making the school a place that positively supports mental health, to participate actively in efforts to improve the effectiveness of

[58]Wallace M. Lernell, Differential Approach to School Social Work, *Social Work*, 8:76-80 (October 1963).

[59]Betty L. Welsh, The Changing Role of the School Social Worker, prepared as working material in use of consultation on the social worker's role in the school, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1966 (mimeographed), 3.

teacher training, as well as improve teachers' salaries and working conditions.[60]

Confusion among Roles

The school social worker has usually said that he operates as a "team member," working in collaboration with the teacher, the principal, and the various other professional persons in the school—psychologists, guidance workers, nurses, attendance officers, and so forth. Findings from research studies during the sixties have indicated that there is considerable confusion or disagreement about which activities are appropriate for all the various team specialists to perform in collaboration with each other.

Robert Rowen conducted a study in New Jersey to determine the differences in the perception of the function of the school social worker by school superintendents and school social workers respectively. He found significant differences involving disagreement or confusion about one out of every four tasks performed by the school social worker. The superintendents saw the school social worker's role as encompassing more tasks than most of the workers performed. Among these were investigation of the child's home and neighborhood environment; assistance in the collection of background material on the child and family for the psychologist when mental retardation was suspected; preparation of summaries on cases being transferred to other social agencies; service on community committees; provision of information for teachers meetings; and acquisition of social and personal data for principals and teachers to be utilized for increasing the effectiveness of educational procedures.[61]

A study by John Fisher of role perception of various school specialists—attendance coordinators, psychologists, and social workers—showed that the members of each specialist group

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[60] Sibylle K. Escalona, Mental Health, the Educational Process and the Schools, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 37:4 (January 1967).

[61] Robert D. Rowen, The Function of the Visiting Teacher in the School, *Journal of International Association of Pupil Personnel Workers*, 9:3-9 (June 1965).

believed that they were more highly involved in various sample situations presented than anyone else thought they were.[62]

In a study of role delineation among the guidance professions, Merville Shaw found a substantial core of delineated professional functions that were essentially the same, involving a significant overlapping in the functions that school counselors, school social workers, and school psychologists wanted to carry out. Each profession seemed to find it necessary to apply different labels to similar processes and to preempt these processes as though unique to its specialty. Shaw suggests that the sizable overlapping in function seen in the claims of each of the three professions studied "is partly due to . . . needs for recognition both within and without the school system, and that it is with respect to 'status' activities that most overlapping will be seen."[63]

Walter E. Schafer and Kenneth Polk gathered evidence to illustrate the necessity for coordinating the point of view and the actions of the various professionals who deal with pupils in trouble. "The psychologist, the speech therapist, the social worker, the attendance officer, the counselor, the principal and the classroom teacher all tend to view the problems of students, education, and misbehavior from different perspectives. Hence, they seek out different types of information and follow varying courses of action. The result is frequent 'atomization' of the school's response to students in trouble."[64]

That the adverse effect of this confusion among roles is not confined within the schools themselves but carries over into the working relationships of school personnel with community agencies is strongly suggested by a study of processes and

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[62]John K. Fisher, Role Perceptions and Characteristics of Attendance Coordinators, Psychologists, and Social Workers, *Journal of International Association of Pupil Personnel Workers*, 10:1-8 (March 1966).

[63]Merville C. Shaw, Role Delineation Among the Guidance Professions, *Psychology in the Schools*, 4:11 (January 1967).

[64]Walter E. Schafer and Kenneth Polk, Delinquency and the Schools, in *Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime: Report of Juvenile Justice and Consultants' Papers*, Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967), 256-57.

problems in the referral of maladjusted school children to mental health clinics in Illinois. Richard John Anderson found that deficiencies in such working relationships frequently impaired health clinic and school services for pupils: "From the conditions reported in the study, the researcher concludes that troubled children must suffer because of the inability of the professional personnel working in mental health clinics and the schools to cooperate with each other. This study suggests that only the highly motivated child and parent wuold be willing to blunder through the lack of communication, coordination, understanding and the petty jealousies that existed during the time of the research. Children had to literally cry out or act out before skilled services would be marshalled to focus on their needs."[65]

This evidence seems consistent with findings of Shirley Jenkins and Mignon Sauber in their study of the preplacement year of children who entered foster care: the schools originated only 3 percent of the referrals, in contrast to the 16 percent originated by the police, and even when a child's personality or severe neglect was the cause of referral for placement, the schools referred not more than 8 percent.[66] Such unresponsiveness to evidences of maladjustment and neglect among school children is another indication of confusion of roles and responsibilities among personnel charged with providing pupil services—and it was particularly evident among school social workers who have been expected to act as liaison between community agencies and the schools.

Conclusion

School social workers during the forties and fifties put great professional energy into developing a casework service in the public schools. Their doing so and at the same time giving up the earlier tasks of school-home-community liaison and

[65] Richard John Anderson, Procedures and Problems in Referring School Children to Mental Health Clinics, doctoral dissertation (Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois, 1968), 177.

[66] Shirley Jenkins and Mignon Sauber, *Paths to Child Placement: Family Situations Prior to Foster Care* (Community Council of Greater New York, New York, 1966), 73.

bringing about social change in the community and its institutions is in keeping with the general trend in social work practice in other fields during these same years.

As school social workers sought to refine their casework service, they developed conviction that their work required "a special competence and skill," and they accepted the traditional view that social work activity of the kind practiced by them was properly reserved for the graduate social worker. In the face of growing shortages of professional workers and the resulting concern to protect the quality of their service, the tendency was to maintain a narrowed range of services—those that the profession had agreed were the province of the graduate social worker.

Because professional social workers in schools apparently have not responded sufficiently to the most pressing problems of communities and to the experimentation and demonstrations of new kinds of service that have gone on in some schools in recent years, they still generally follow a traditional model of school social work service that has not compelled them to re-examine critically their goals and their staffing patterns.

CHAPTER III

A Historical Review of School Social Work: An Addendum for the Years 1968-1975

Lela Costin

Developments in Public School Education

The year 1968 brought the Kerner Commission Report (Report of the National Advisory Commission) as a governmental effort to analyze the previous summer's violent conflict in major cities between black and white citizens. The report placed considerable responsibility for riots upon the schools and gave recommendations for corrective action. For example, the report stated:

> Education in a democratic society must equip children to develop their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well. But for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.

The bleak record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse:

> . . . In this last summer's disorders we have seen the consequences of racial isolation at all levels and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance, and bias.

A series of recommendations followed which dealt with efforts to eliminate de facto segregation and racial discrimination in schools, extend quality early childhood education, provide federal funding for year-round compensatory education programs, eliminate illiteracy among adults, enlarge opportunities for parent and community participation in public schools, and develop other related strategies for change.

In 1970 Charles E. Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom* seemed to many to culminate a long series of critical analyses of the public schools. It combined reasoned censure with a

positive review of major educational reforms. The literature of education throughout the period 1968-1975 emphasized the powerful concept of humanism and the essentiality of insuring its pervasiveness in the climate and practices of the public schools.

School Finances. Total expenditures of public school systems in the 1974-75 school year were estimated at $60 billion (Frankel, 1973). As prices continue to rise, projected costs go even higher.

In most states, major costs of elementary and secondary public schools were still paid by local governments, mostly from property taxes. Dissatisfaction of taxpayers with the traditional system of school financing became widely apparent, as did the dissatisfaction with inequities in educational oportunity as measured by expenditure per pupil. Strategies for challenging the local property tax as a basis for school financing led to the *Rodriguez* decision (*San Antonio Independent School District* v. *Rodriguez*). While the decision criticized the property tax for financing public school education, it declined to rule that states could not finance their public school system with property taxes, giving a breather to schools in states that had been under pressure to reform their systems of school financing. Yet forces continued at work across the country (with progress in some states) for finding a system of financing that would not continue to maintain unequal opportunities for education.

School Problems and Pupil Characteristics. Attendance policies in the public schools received increased attention in the years 1968-75. Pupils identified for concern were those characterized by absenteeism (sporadic school attendance when pupils are beset with demands they cannot meet adequately), truancy (officially identified nonattendance of longer standing), and exclusion (absence by formal exclusion or strong discouragement from attending). Those excluded, and the reasons behind exclusion, came under particular scrutiny in two significant studies (Task Force on Children; Children's Defense Fund).

Excluded children and young persons were commonly those allowed to leave school or never to enroll because the district had no educational program for them. This group includes

minority pupils who do not speak English, children with physical handicaps not allowed to participate in the regular program even though there had been no determination of their abilities, and school-age girls who became pregnant. Pupils identified as "troublemakers," particularly at the secondary level, were particularly vulnerable to suspension or expulsion. In sum, any child or young person who was culturally, physically, mentally, or behaviorally different was subject to the high risk of being arbitrarily labeled and/or excluded from school in many communities.

Discipline in the schools became a major issue—an issue for pupils, their parents, teachers, school administrators, and community law enforcement officials. Corporal punishment at school continued to be permitted by law in most states. Concerned citizens in Dallas formed a National Committee to Abolish Corporal Punishment in Schools and sought unsuccessfully to get the school board to change its policy of paddling. The school superintendent acknowledged that corporal punishment had increased almost fourfold in 1971-72 over the previous year as a result of "general unrest resulting from school desegregation" (Associated Press, Oct. 23, 1972). However, the courts were reluctant to become involved in the issue of corporal punishment in schools. The United States Supreme Court turned down without comment an appeal by parents alleging that the school teachers in Dallas had deprived students of their fundamental rights by striking them (Associated Press, Nov. 20, 1972). However, schools continued to exercise the right to regulate student conduct under the legal concept of *in loco parentis*, and courts generally held that such actions must be consistent only with those of a reasonable and prudent parent. But concern for pupil rights increased significantly. The courts in general began to say that schools have the authority to regulate conduct which is likely to cause disorder and interfere with educational functions but that pupils must be treated fairly and accorded due process of law under the Fourteenth Amendment. A review of any of the journals read by school superintendents, principals, and school board members attest to their increased awareness of the legal rights of pupils.

Curricular "tracking"; procedures for placement into special education classes; accountability of the schools, both for fiscal expenditure and for evidence of skill acquisition—these were major issues in the period 1968-75. Procedures with respect to pupil records also gained critical attention, culminating in the passage in 1974 of the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act designed to protect, through better procedures, the rights and privacy of parents and students.

Ongoing efforts continued to bridge the social distance between the school and the community. Parents demanded greater participation in the school's decision-making and policy formulation and, in some communities, won the battle for greater community control of schools by acquiring leadership positions. Yet even when school-community distance was lessened through more community control, certain residual problems remained. Educational issues were still subordinated to political issues and to implicit racial issues in many cities. It also proved difficult to coordinate the diverse positions of parent subgroups with respect to specific educational desires, expectations, and other concerns.

New Educational Functions. With the growing interest in expanding the nation's commitment to provision of day care and early childhood education through federal legislation, and with empty classrooms and loss of employment for teachers brought about by the declining birth rate and an economic recession, a movement began in the fall of 1974 to bring new child care programs under public school auspices. The movement was spearheaded by the American Federation of Teachers, and endorsed by other significant organizations such as the National School Boards Association, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and the National Education Association. Although they supported diversified child care services, not all of which would necessarily be offered in public school facilities, these organizations endorsed the proposition that the public school system should assume both the sponsorship and the responsibility for such programs (*American Teacher*).

The formulation of public policy for such critical questions as these, which affect the education and welfare of millions of American children, is a matter of considerable import to social

workers in the public schools. Costin urged in 1969 that school social workers participate in addressing the complex issue of preschool programs for all children (Costin, 1972a). However, subsequent literature registers no response to the question of this potential extension of school social work services.

Developments in School Social Work

"Social Change and School Social Work in the 1970's" was the title of a national workshop held in 1969, designed to stimulate designed change in school social work and encourage assumption of significant leadership roles by school social workers throughout the United States. Sponsored by the National Association of Social Workers and the National Institute of Mental Health, the workshop focused attention on education as a social institution and on the analysis of major issues in elementary and secondary education and their implications for school social work (Kahn, 1972; Sarri, 1972). A state commissioner of education urged school social workers to assess problems more effectively within the school-community environment and to develop integrated multilevel strategies for greater effectiveness (Marburger). Findings were reported from an analysis of tasks in school social work based on a national survey of opinions held by professional school social workers. These findings indicated the need for new adaptations in school social work practice to meet pupil needs more effectively (Costin, 1969).

Following this workshop, and as part of the same project, a variety of state and regional conferences were held. One comprehensive outcome was an important NASW publication (Sarri and Maple) which highlighted innovations in practice gleaned from the national workshop and which gave guidelines for new developments.

Manpower Issues. Professional readiness for differential utilization of social work staff (with varying levels of training) had been one of the issues which gave rise to the analysis of tasks in school social work. Findings indicated that professional school social workers were reluctant to delegate tasks which they considered important to persons with less education and training than their own. Four years later Alderson and Krishef (1973) did a partial replication of the Costin analysis of tasks,

using a sample of school social workers in Florida who held the M.S.W., other master's degrees, and bachelor's degrees. They concluded that this smaller and more diverse population showed a greater readiness to delegate tasks of school social work and to assume a leadership position in relation to school policy.

Rowan (1967) examined the effect of federal legislation on school social work functions, specifically the effect of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the National Defense Education Act Amendments of 1964. He concluded that overall functions had not changed, although areas of emphasis had, with generally positive results. Responsibilities had been somewhat expanded and directed towards family and community as integral parts of the child's education.

School social work and the effective use of manpower was the focus of an Invitational Workshop in Florida in 1971. Confusion about the role and function of school social workers and the lack of a coherent pattern of service were pointed out (Guzzetta). Familiar staffing patterns were identified, such as the professional elitist, bureaucratic staffing, and OEO staffing patterns. Twelve roles identified by the Southern Regional Educational Board (Teare and McPheeters) were presented, with illustrations of how these roles could be clustered into school social work assignments with different foci and objectives (Smith).

With the economic recession and the greater vulnerability to loss of employment among school social workers, there has followed a loss of interest in differentiating roles and tasks for purposes of delegating parts of the job. The literature of related disciplines is also sparse in recent attempts to differentiate, and collaborate on, pupil specialist assignments. Only one attempt to distinguish among the roles of school counselors, psychologists, and social workers was reported (Nugent). And a study of the role of the school social worker, in compatible and incompatible school situations, suggested that attitudinal or behavioral aspects of the social worker-principal relationship contributed to an incompatibility that results in less effective professional service (Williams).

The Search for New Models of Practice. Greater attention to the limitations of traditional social work services in the face of interrelated and complex problems of schools, communities, and pupils led to attempts to find more effective models for practice. One of the first to be reported was "a beginning attempt to conceptualize a problem-focused practice model . . . ." Prerequisites for practice using such an approach and steps in the problem solving process were laid out. An illustration was provided from school social work practices in a larger inner-city junior high school (Spitzer and Welsh).

A conceptualization related to that of Spitzer and Welsh was a "problem-centered practice of social work in the schools" which attempted to shift from "the microcosm of the individual schoolchild to the wider world of the school community, to include the child and his relationships as integral parts of a whole system" (Nieberl). Nieberl noted that innovative aspects of the problem-centered practice were consistent with the trends outlined by Costin in the early 1970s. Also appearing in the literature at this time were references to the "challenge for change" movement in school social work (Alderson, 1971); suggested adaptations in practice for purposes of transition to new models of practice (Costin, 1972b); and problems and potentials in professional "teaming" (Anderson, 1972a and b).

Another attempt (Gottlieb and Gottlieb) to explicate an expanded role for the school social worker focused on two potential areas for greater impact: effecting change in factors in the school system that cause individual and systematic malperformance, and serving as a liaison between school and community to better meet needs of the school system's environment. The authors discuss constraints on roles that serve to maintain the predominant casework orientation, problems of communication with peers and administrators, and the knowledge and skills needed for influencing systemwide change.

Alderson, in 1972, identified and described a number of practice models for delivering social work services in the schools. These included the traditional-clinical model, "the best known and most widely applied model in school social work"; the school-change model, which seeks to alter dysfunctional school

norms and conditions; the community-school model, largely focused on disadvantaged communities; the social-interaction model, with an emphasis upon mediation through communication; and indirect services relying heavily upon consultation, supervision, and administration.

Systems theory as basis for social work problem-solving techniques, with the public school used as a setting for illustrations, began to claim more attention (Wassenich). And another role for improving school-community relations—the role of school-community agent in Detroit—offered demonstration of a new and extended link between school and community, a catalyst for innovations, and an initiator of interchange (Deshler and Erlich).

Two consultants in a state department of education described how change toward a new approach to school social work was implemented on a statewide level through workshops, the development of practice models, and an appeal to a wide range of participants. The frequently overlooked influence of "the material tools of school social work service—records, manuals, referral forms" on the social worker's ability to attain new goals was highlighted (Gallant and Macdonald).

In 1975 this author described a program which sought to develop and train for a new model of school social work based on school-community-pupil interactions (Costin, 1975). It differed substantially from the traditional clinical model in goals and focus, supporting theories, assessment procedures, development of the service plan, deployment of personnel, and channels of accountability. This project, part of a multi-university consortium for planned change in PPS, is more fully described in this monograph by Ione Vargus.

Also on this same model and on this program was an article dealing specifically with accountability and the maintenance of credibility (Anderson, 1974). The author described the processes in negotiating a selection of problems for social work attention, the use of a team approach in making system impact, and the written plan of operation.

Almost without exception all those who had written in relation to the search for new models of practice emphasized that

new roles required new preparation, that social work education must review its curriculum if social work practice in the schools was to significantly affect the process and direction of public school education. The issue was "the lack of fit between the theory of social work practice that the student is learning in academic classes and the theory that underlies . . . [new] school social work practices" (Nieberl).

Other Reports of Innovations. One collection of articles and papers sought to provide a basis for responsible professional action by highlighting the challenges of the day with historical perspective and a sense of professional identity (Alderson, 1969). Numerous examples of innovation in practice appeared elsewhere in the literature of the period. Although often creative in objectives and method, most appeared to be unrepeated activities isolated from a larger pattern of practice.

An attempt to cut through the isolation of professional social work practice in schools, and reinforce and extend innovative projects, was the focus of a "Tri-State Leadership Workshop in School Social Work" in late 1973. School social workers in three eastern states were invited to participate and to present an abstract describing a project in which they had engaged during the previous year. The abstracts were to include a description of the problem, the strategy and social work processes utilized, an evaluation of outcomes, and any useful generalizations that could safely be made. Thirty abstracts were selected for fuller reporting and included in a publication (Bellos, Gross, and Steiner). These useful reports covered interventions with students, parents, educational staff, and community.

In the period 1967-74 reports of the use of the social group work method appeared with considerably more frequency than ever before. For example, in a discussion of social learning in school groups, Euster (1972) presented examples of an expanded role for school social work practice which would contribute to the application of the concept of social learning and to improved social functioning of pupils. (For other examples, see Wyers; Mishne; Webster; Reisman and Byer.)

The techniques of behavior modification also came in for increased attention by social workers in schools and seemed to

provide for many of them new skills for use in teacher consultation and in direct work with children (Wadsworth; Stuart).

School and community agency cooperation was illustrated in examples of elaboration between a juvenile judge, county welfare department staff and high school personnel (Buxton); and among three state agencies to place social workers in schools to help primary grade pupils having problems (Powell).

The social worker as part of a crisis team in school-community conflict situations (Walton and Reeves); "comprehensive" social work in the secondary school (Bielecki); expansion of roles in a community school (Magill); the need for knowledge and appreciation of different cultural patterns to resolve home-school conflict (Montalvo); and other examples of a wider role for parents in the community (Prunty)—all these received attention in the literature.

The period 1968-1975 is brief in the light of the historical development of social work in the public schools. Problems in the schools and in the system of school-community-pupil relations persisted, as did the search for new and more effective models of school social work practice. Despite interesting and sometimes exciting innovations in school social work practice, no clear and accepted direction for a means to significantly affect the process and direction of public school education seemed to emerge.

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CHAPTER IV

School Social Work Practice: A New Model

Lela B. Costin

This model of practice is in line with the spirit and demands of the times. It considers the problems of pupils not merely from the personal and family angle but from a broader viewpoint: how they relate to situations and deficiencies in the school and the community.

Concern has become commonplace about persistent problems in the public schools that adversely affect groups of pupils and seriously impair their chances for equal educational opportunity. Less than a decade ago, the idea was set forth that pupil problems—rather than developing primarily from faulty personality functioning of pupil or parents—arise from the interaction of pupil characteristics and school conditions.[1] This fresh insight has led school social workers to consider new approaches to their work. Some have been hesitant about change. But high rates of truancy and absenteeism, functional dropouts, pupils' underachievement, strikes by teachers, defeated tax referenda, and the clamor of citizen groups have convinced even reluctant observers that innovation may be necessary. Many have concluded that, to make educational opportunity equal, changes must be made in school-community-pupil relations.

Although some school social workers cling tenaciously to the traditional clinical model of practice, probably many more realize they carry strategic responsibility in the public schools and are seeking ways to modify their practice. Innovative approaches have not been extensive, however, and the best-intentioned efforts often have not been sustained.

This article describes a model of school social work practice recently initiated and developed in a three-year training demon-

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stration at the Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Urbana. The model offers a framework for moving toward a way to modify the institutional practice of public school education.[2]

Goals and Focus

The goals of traditional social work practice in schools have been to help the child adapt to school and use the learning opportunities presented. Social workers strive to attain these goals by modifying pupil behavior or effecting other change in the characteristics or personal situation of the individual pupil or the parents.

In contrast, the goals of school social work practice that emphasize the interaction among school, community, and pupils are broader and are directed toward increasing educational opportunities for target groups of pupils. An overall goal of such a model would be to alleviate stress on groups of pupils and help them use learning opportunities more effectively by bringing about change in the system of school-community-pupil relations. The individual child is not forgotten; the ultimate aim is to help individual children and young persons. But the needs and capabilities of groups of pupils are viewed as only one component of the interacting forces, influences, and personalities contained in school-community-pupil relations.

Traditional practice in the schools focuses on the individual pupil and the individual case. The social and emotional characteristics of the pupil or his family are seen as playing a leading part of the pupil's difficulties at school. Even when group methods are used, close attention is paid to the individual pupil's problems of adjustment, both at home and at school. Teachers refer pupils to social workers and the workers respond when such symptoms as these occur: withdrawal, aggression, school phobia, lack of friends, general unhappiness, or disruptive behavior. Such symptoms are typically seen as manifestations of personal and emotional problems.

In a model based on school-community-pupil relations the center of interest and attention is on (1) deficiencies in the school and the community and (2) the interaction between specific characteristics of the system and characteristics of

groups of pupils at points of stress in the pupil life cycle. Thus the focus is on the situation rather than on personality.

The vehicle for intervention is an identified problem complex made up of identified problem situations. A problem situation involves a group of pupils, similarly situated, who form a dysfunctional unit as their social behaviors interact with conditions in school and community. Members of the unit are then perceived as lacking competence to deal effectively with the demands and expectations made by the school and the community. A problem complex is a collective whole of problem situations. These exist within a network of personality characteristics that conflict with and are negatively reinforced by practices and deficiencies of school and community. This model, then, emphasizes the links and interactions between pupil characteristics and school-community conditions and practices.

Within such a framework, social workers respond to identified group patterns of underachievement, truancy, absenteeism, exclusion from school, or other recurring evidence that schools are failing to meet the educational needs of large numbers of pupils. The focus on patterns of group behavior does not imply that the individual is unimportant. It does imply that attention cannot be limited to the individual as it points up this fact: The interrelationship of pupil problems and school-community problems requires dealing with the problem complex and its network of problem situations.

Supporting Theories

Social Learning Theory. Social work practice focusing on school-community-pupil relations relies on certain principles of social learning. These emphasize the role of social variables as a way to account for the development and modification of human behavior. Among the specific areas related to the pupil's behavior are (1) imitative learning from models, (2) the demands and constraints of roles, and (3) the influences of cultures. The focus is on learned, overt, readily observed maladaptive behavior.

This theory stresses the continuity of social learning from childhood to maturity. It emphasizes the concept that learning

experiences during childhood and adolescence—in the home, at school, in the community—are important for calling forth, shaping, and maintaining behavior patterns evident in later life. Social learning theory attempts to relate the development of social behavior to earlier social stimuli, such as the social models to which the child was exposed, the chance reinforcements in his learning history, and the training used to develop and modify his social behavior. This theory does not ignore the importance of constitutional variables in personality development, but its proponents find more to be gained by concentrating on social learning influences.[3]

Systems Theory. A school-community-pupil model of school social work also relies on systems theory. This theory assumes that a living entity existing at any level can be viewed as a system—that is, as a set of components with relationships between these components and their attributes. A system has order and organization; it is maintained in continuous change. If it is functioning coherently, no part of it can be affected without affecting the whole.

The school is a system that functions as a whole by virtue of its interdependent parts and their attributes. Pupils, teachers, administrators, other school personnel, school board members, parents, and other community representatives—all who meet in a school—are bound together. Each person is an integral element of a whole.

Relationships among its parts are what tie the system together. Which of the many relationships is most important depends on the problem at hand.[4]

Any system can be divided into subsystems, sometimes in a hierarchical order. A school system has subsystems that involve social interactions. For example, there are interactions within a classroom, within groups of teachers and administrators, within divergent groups of pupils, or within the governing body made up of the school superintendent and the school board. However, the concern is not exclusively with the separate parts or the subsystems, but with the concept of the system as a whole—its internal relations and its behavior as a unit.

A given system, such as the public school, has an environment or external influences. These may include the following: community norms in relation to the proper functions and organizational structure of the school; the quantity and kind of community resources; the population of the community according to social class, age, and racial and ethnic composition; and the community power structure. The characteristics of the social system and its environment affect the openly acknowledged as well as the more subtle purposes of the school, and thereby the outcomes of the educational process.

As a derivative of systems theory, concepts of organization development are important to a model of school social work focused on school-community-pupil relations. Organization development is a continuing process that aims to develop better procedures and a more supportive climate to deal with the problems affecting organizational goals. In this instance the long-term goal is to equalize educational opportunity for school children by planning and implementing needed change in school-community-pupil relations.

Key concepts of organization development include (1) the interdependence of problems and solutions, (2) the importance of work climate, that is, the values, attitudes, and underlying assumptions that determine how work gets done, (3) the distinction between tasks and process, (4) the driving and restraining forces in problem-solving, (5) the necessity for open and nonmanipulative communication, and (6) the authority of knowledge and competence versus the authority of role. Organization development is not a once-done task or an end product. Its aims include building into an organization and a work force the dynamics necessary for continuous self-renewing change and purposeful adaptation—in other words, building an open, problem-solving climate.[5]

Other derivatives of systems theory useful to school social workers include approaches based on what Siporin has called situation theory—"a focus on client social situations for planned, purposeful change . . . and part of the indigenous 'systems theory' of social work."[6] He correctly notes that the person-situation perspective is not new in social work. Gordon too has pointed out that the central focus of social work traditionally

seems to have been on the person-in-his-life situation complex—a *simultaneous dual focus* on man and environment.[7]

The fact that such learning and experience is already part of the practice of many social workers may offer a tested foothold for successful transition into a model of school social work stressing that pupil problems are an attribute of the social situation of children and young persons.

Also useful is the classification of role and system problems by Atherton et al. This includes problems related to the individual's performance of legitimate roles, acceptable roles, and problematic roles and problems related to the structure of social systems. The classification is useful because it helps locate strategic and feasible points for social work intervention.[8]

Assessment

As a prelude to intervention, traditional school social work practice generally relies on study and evaluation of psychosocial factors that prevent a child from adjusting to school. Evaluation includes personal characteristics, attitudes and behaviors of the child who has been referred, interpersonal problems within the family or peer groups, and reports on the child's problem by teachers or other pupil specialists. In contrast, assessment in a school-community-pupil frame of reference relies primarily on the study and evaluation of how pupil characteristics interact with school-community conditions and how they affect educational opportunity for groups of pupils.

A first step is to assess needs in relation to the school and its purposes. Knowledge of the community is a prerequisite for adequate assessment of needs. This involves demographic data; the type of power structure between community, school board, and school superintendent; existing community resources for children and young persons, such as public libraries, summer programs for children, work opportunities for teenagers, before-and-after-school day care; and other factors relevant to a specific community.

For assessment of needs, administrators, teachers, and other school personnel must have planned consultation with the group affected—pupils and their parents. The aim of this consultation is to find out what the different parties consider to be problems,

how they define these problems, which parts of the educational process create stress and dissatisfaction, as well as areas in which the school appears to be working well.

A clear understanding of what the school expects of parents is important. So is knowing about school policies, both official and informal, regarding such issues as curricular tracking, disciplinary methods for various specified behaviors, admission of pupils to extracurricular activities, enforcement of attendance, lunch-room rules, practices of suspension and expulsion, and procedures of placement for special education. Recording evidence of how these policies and practices are applied to individuals and groups makes it easier to see which policies help pupils to learn more readily and become competent, and which serve the needs of the system to the detriment of the educational process and the welfare of its pupils. Understanding and assessing the existing pupil services is necessary. This includes knowing who arranges or carries out what tasks, how staff and pupils communicate, how much they collaborate openly, and where to find personnel who can strengthen a school-community-pupil approach to problems.

A crucial part of the assessment of needs is identifying target problem situations. This is done by studying group patterns of achievement and adjustment at critical points of stress in the pupil life cycle.

When many children enter school, for example, they are unready for different reasons to make the best use of the classroom so as to realize their aspirations. Many of their parents have an inadequate perception of their own role and are inadequately prepared to understand and support their children in their school life. These deficiencies become exacerbated when school personnel have unrealistic expectations of the children or when there are no school programs to help integrate new pupils and parents into the school. Such parents may be viewed as a target group.

At about fourth grade, changes in the structure and pace of learning opportunities may bring new scholastic demands. Groups of pupils, often boys, may encounter frustrating role expectations which may trigger patterns of underachievement in basic skills or behavior that deters their acceptance and success in the classroom.

Data on children entering sixth grade or junior high school often reveal groups of girls who have problems of role transition and need more adequate role modeling. These girls, who may previously have escaped notice and concern, may begin to drift toward underachievement and find it difficult to perceive their identity and to formulate life goals.

Another point of stress may occur in ninth and tenth grade. At this time boys who are on juvenile probation or those who are returning to the community from correctional institutions often face formidable obstacles to continuing their education steadily and successfully and avoiding anomalous or deviant roles.

Pregnant school-age girls usually face a critical situation that presents serious problems of role confusion. The crisis may threaten their continuing in their roles as pupils and also their fulfilling the new maternal roles.

The foregoing examples illustrate problem situations that school social workers encounter. Study of data obtained from school records, verbal reports, consultation, and professional observation in any school can highlight other problem situations at the normal points of stress in the pupil life cycle.

Adequate procedures of assessment require another step: the identified problem situations must be studied and evaluated for their interrelationships. Although problems of pupils may appear in clusters, a cause-and-effect relationship does not necessarily exist between one cluster and another. However, in any school having large numbers of underachieving, absentee, or excluded pupils or functional dropouts, one can expect to find a dynamic interrelationship in the configuration of problem situations. Such interrelated problem situations make up a problem complex.

Service Plan

In traditional social work practice, teachers, principals, social agencies, and sometimes parents—those who refer children one by one for service—largely determine the school social worker's service plan. Consequently, school social workers frequently express frustration about the ever growing number of referrals, the increasing unplanned demands for crisis intervention in new

cases, and their lack of time for giving more intensive, continuing attention to children referred to them.

In the model of practice that concentrates on school-community-pupil relations, the school social workers develop a service plan only after the foregoing procedures of assessment have been carried out. Then during continued consultation with administrators, teachers, and other school personnel, the workers develop, write, and offer a plan to administrators and others whose participation and support are essential to its success.

After necessary adjustments are made in the plan, a contract for service is agreed on with those to whom the school social workers are accountable. The plan must explain how the characteristics of pupils relate to school-community conditions within the problem complex and its problem situations, state the overall goal and the specific objectives for each problem situation, offer a plan of intervention outlining the tasks to be performed, and describe the expected measurable outcomes for the individual, the group, the school, and the community.

Objectives should of course relate to the educational needs of the target groups and the purposes of the school. In setting forth the tasks, social workers should consider such questions as these: What will be the rationale in selecting pupils or parents from the target group for casework or group work service? Which community attributes require work with community groups or their representatives? Who are the principal actors in the service plan? What time can be allowed for consulting and working with them, and evaluating results? There should also be an overall assessment of the most feasible points for intervention.

Even though social workers in schools must, in addition, continue to respond to some emergent referrals on behalf of pupils in crisis, they should find that a service plan thus negotiated has the following advantages:

- It keeps the control of the work load in the hands of those who have primary and daily responsibility for carrying it out.

- Goals and progress can be interpreted to the maximum degree because those who are directly affected, as well as those

to whom the social worker is accountable, helped develop the overall work plan and have a stake in its success.

- When the social workers and others involved design the plan for maximum flexibility, parts of the work can end when appropriate. Then assignments and tasks can be regrouped to suit the situation or to fill gaps indicated by evaluation of progress.

Personnel

In traditional practice, school social workers may be members of a team formally organized to study, diagnose, classify, and place children individually in special education programs. More often, a worker is assigned to one school building, several buildings, a total school district, or even more than one district.

The total number of pupils within a social worker's assigned area varies tremendously. In one state the number in the pool from which pupils are selected to receive service ranges from 250 to 16,000 pupils.[9] Social workers carrying such an assignment, large or small, may be directly accountable to a casework supervisor with whom they confer with varying regularity. The supervisor may be carrying a caseload that leaves little time for supervisory responsibilities or may be head of an administrative unit—for example, special education or pupil personnel services—with administrator-staff interaction focusing chiefly on administrative needs. In these instances, the social worker who functions within clearly recognizable patterns of practice and avoids risk-taking operations may act with considerable autonomy in all but the most troublesome cases or certain disciplinary cases in which teachers and administrators have made procedural agreements.

A team of pupil specialists is essential to a model of school-community-pupil relations. To be effective this team should be interdisciplinary. There should be a stable core of members and yet the team should be able to incorporate temporary members who will provide specialized information or perform specific tasks. Those carrying out the model attempt to develop the potential of others in the school or community who can further the objectives of a specific service plan or help improve educational opportunity.

Maximum flexibility is maintained within the team so that individual expertise in roles and tasks may be identified and developed. Members tend to take on assignments because of their competence in handling a specific task, rather than because it is appropriate only to their professional discipline or status. Within this framework for evolving a differentiation of skills, the team maintains a unified approach to problem-solving and team authority.

The team is led by a professional who is accountable to school administrators for the team's work and is responsible for the overall service plan. This person, who is usually a social worker but in some schools may be from another discipline, directs, coordinates, and guides team members toward attaining objectives, keeping within the boundaries of good judgment, and maintaining professional and ethical standards of work. Another team member may sometimes serve as leader to pursue objectives in a specific problem situation or to carry out parts of the overall service plan.

Openness of communication within the team, continuous reporting, and regular reevaluation of objectives and strategies are essential. Members are encouraged to consult with and help each other, rather than work in a hierarchical relationship.

The team as a whole needs to be competent in all methods of social work, although all skills need not be possessed by each member. The school-community-pupil approach does not eliminate casework. However, this method is used selectively to support objectives of the target group. And it is used in a way that helps pupils and other school clients to understand, take control of, and enhance favorable change in school-community-pupil relations. Skills in effective consultation and in child advocacy must be developed and reinforced. It is important for team members to have a capacity for risk-taking, combined with sound judgment as to when it is strategic to assume a position of risk.[10]

Professional Preparation

The model of school social work focusing on school-community-pupil relations of course requires sound profes-

sional preparation. If the model is to be most effectively implemented, this preparation must emphasize certain areas of knowledge and practice.

School social workers using this model must understand the public school as a social system and must have a broad view of social work concerns in relation to public education. Knowledge is needed, then, about such issues as these:

- The politics of school-community relations in shaping educational policy.
- Effects of different types of school-community power structure.
- Problems and policy issues in school financing.
- Negative aspects of a school's subcultures.
- Attempts that have been made to reform education.
- Problems arising out of traditional roles of various pupil specialists.
- The nature and limits of the school board's authority.
- Sociolegal issues affecting equality of education.

Greater attention must be given in social work education to interventive strategies for institutional change that may be generally used in other institutions and systems, but need to be further clarified and illustrated when applied to the public school. Concepts of organization development, the nature and handling of child advocacy, resistance to change, and the techniques that change agents use are topics needing special attention.

Students who intend to use this model of school social work should have preparation in program planning, proposal writing, and program evaluation. They will require a team placement during their field practicum. Since the model of practice is new to most school administrators, schools of social work must assume greater responsibility for developing practicum sites in public schools and for interpreting the model when it is to be demonstrated. Furthermore, social work educators should provide careful monitoring of the model's operation to be sure that the tremendous pull to "fit into the system" and

move into traditional practice does not prevail. Field placements will be optimally effective for both student learning and the provision of service only when the school of social work assumes a defined degree of responsibility for aiding the regular school personnel with a program of staff development.

In view of the demands of the times, the model of school social work described in this article represents a modest and long overdue beginning rather than radical change. Since its goals are specific and realistic, this model can serve as a transition, helping the social work profession become more fully and more significantly involved in school-community-pupil relations and in the pursuit of social change.

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CHAPTER V

Developing, Launching, and Maintaining the School-Community-Pupil Program

Ione Vargus

Among the many and varied trends in social work education is that of preparing "change agents." There still abounds, however, a great deal of skepticism as to whether or not it is possible to do so. The approach in this article will be to use the School-Community-Pupil program as a case history which describes some of the processes and the problems encountered in developing, launching, and maintaining a training program for a revised model of social work practice in schools.

The original proposal to the United States Office of Education for a School-Community-Pupil program included the following statement:

> A departure from the usual methods of education and training of pupil personnel specialists is needed so that professionals can intervene appropriately in the complex school and community system to improve learning opportunities for pupils. . . . Our proposed specialist in school-community-pupil relationships would gain the skills as a change agent for use within a local school, focusing the school's attention on the special and urgent needs of certain groups of children (particularly low-income and minority group pupils) and providing leadership in aiding the school to serve these needs.

Problems confronted in implementing this proposed program were both attitudinal and structural in nature; most often they were interlocked in such a way as to defy separation.

Perhaps the first attitudinal prerequisite to preparing students to be change agents is for educators to perceive of themselves and behave as change agents. In building and developing this educational program, the project faculty had to apply the knowledge, attitudes, and skills which were taught to students. The parallel between what students learned and did and what faculty did was striking, even though the activity took place at different times and with different sub-systems. The parallels, nonetheless, allowed for an identification with the challenges and obstacles that students faced, for a relevancy in teaching, and for the testing of concepts and theories on "how to bring about change."

Resource Systems

Throughout the life of the demonstration there were ongoing contacts with many systems. In addition to the primary systems involving students in the program, the field site public school personnel, and the School of Social Work personnel, these systems included the university's College of Education, the Illinois State Office of Public Instruction, the Illinois Association of School Social Workers, the project's Community Advisory Council, and its Advisory Board. The Midwest Center, which was the funding agency for the Office of Education, took an active role in the ongoing development of the program and served as monitor, evaluator, consultant, resource bank, and funder.

Students. During the three years of the demonstration period, 52 students were enrolled in the program. Admission into the program was open to all students who indicated a career goal of social work in school systems and who were willing to accept the conceptual or philosophical orientations of a systems focus, such as the "problem situation" and "problem complex," a team approach, and the particular planned approach to problem solving which these orientations required. Several or more students in the School of Social Work desiring a field placement in schools did not opt for the School-Community-Pupil program or enroll in the classes but did not take the prescribed field placements. The funding agencies stipulated that minority students and those with previous study or work experience in public schools should receive priority in the award of financial stipends. The racial composition over the three years ranged from 38% minority students in 1971 to 47% in 1973. While the ages of students ranged from 21-44, the average student was around 24 years of age. The grade-point average for the total group tended to be above the minimum required for admission into the School of Social Work. In view of the initiative required and the responsibility and demands placed on the students in this program, these statistics are significant.

School Districts. Contracts for field placement internships were made with ten different school districts or educational regions over the lifetime of the demonstration project. The placement pattern varied considerably. In the case of an

educational region, students might work with as many as six or seven school districts covering twelve to fifteen schools, primarily in rural areas. In one urban school district, the students were assigned to only one or two schools. Interestingly enough, the more territory the students had to cover, the more significant their impact, since these students were in a much better position to interpret the necessity of working with problems that affected many children. These school districts had contact with few, if any, school social workers, so that interns were not only welcomed but they could also set precedents for the school social worker's role. Thus, communities identified as "conservative" in terms of public education tended to be more "progressive" in terms of our objectives than those which were labeled as such.

Faculty. The initial faculty consisted of the two program proposers and the project director, who was hired after funding was received. A fourth faculty member joined the team after the first academic year, at the time when students went into the field. These four, two white and two black, constituted the nuclear group of faculty—the group most responsible for planning and development. Two other faculty members joined the team during the last year of the demonstration and were given specific assignments. This faculty team designed and taught the specialized public school-related courses, developed field placements, provided a structure of support for students in their placements, selected students for the program, advised students, and designed and carried out evaluation activities. Only the project director, who coordinated all of these acticities, spent full time on the program; the remaining faculty had other duties in the School of Social Work.

Curriculum Development

Among the current issues discussed in graduate social work education is that of the generalist versus the specialist. Briar (1974) sees a return to specialization and states that:

> The notion that the distinctive problems social workers encounter in widely diverse agencies can be met by the application of a common body of knowledge and practice principles will probably not work in the future. Specialization needs to be tied to practice knowledge related to particular problems and populations.

The proposers of this training program were already convinced of the need for specialized knowledge in such a critical institution as the public school. Except for a management training program in child welfare, the Jane Addams School had not moved into the current conception of fields of practice; and curriculum was "open." That is, while students were required to study specified areas of knowledge, they were offered a variety of courses from which to get this knowledge. As opposed to schools of social work which have tracks and several required courses within tracks, the Jane Addams School offered a conducive atmosphere for designing a curriculum on the basis of the question, "What differentiated curricular emphases would be necessary for students preparing to work in public education systems?" An analysis of tasks in school social work (Costin, 1969) provided the basis for identifying and selecting curricular emphases relevant to the project's objectives. Subject matter included (although not exclusively) assessment of and methods of intervention with individual, group, and community problems; interdisciplinary cooperation in the schools (teaming); the function and organization of the public school (the school as a social system); legal rights of pupils and their parents and legal authority of school districts; and methods of program evaluation.

It is something of a paradox that a specialized curriculum was best developed in an "open" curriculum because the specialized content became required. This deviation appeared not to be a problem to students even though their classmates had more freedom of choice. In fact, this semi-structured approach seemed to attract students. With the help of a strong advising system, it was possible to reach between individualization based on the student's interests and entering level of knowledge and experience, and the prescribed project curriculum.

The philosophy inherent in a program concentrating on the social system domain, and not the intra-psychic domain, deemphasized the psychological and therapeutic approaches to working with children in the school. Thus, students chose for the most part, with encouragement from advisers, to concentrate methodologically on community, group, and planning

processes, rather than primarily on individual and therapeutic approaches. By the third year, more students took some clinical courses; while some did so out of real interest, others openly admitted that this was for political and strategic reasons. They had noted the predominance of job advertisements which called for caseworkers and felt they had better be prepared in the event they did not get jobs in school systems. Moreover, they had observed the difficulties faculty had trying to convert field instructors to the school-community-pupil approach, and students knew that more than likely their fieldwork would require some casework in the traditional mode.

The issue implied in the struggle just described is whether or not students trained in a new model learn enough skills to use in direct treatment with individual clients and small groups of clients. It is a long-standing issue in the social work profession; even when a majority of students were trained in casework only, they still faced the criticism of not enough training. Extensive supervision after graduation was considered the corrective to the problem (Kasius, 1950).

Field Placement

Field-University Relationships. The working relationship between a school of social work and the setting it uses for field placement, requiring the integration of classroom and field learning, has been another constant issue in the profession. Briar (1973) suggests that "a close partnership between professional schools and practitioners in which their distinctive contributions are recognized, valued, and preserved is essential to the development of knowledge and technology for use in practice."

In making field placements in the first year of the program, negotiations began eight months before students were to be placed, and it took all of this time to complete that process. We were necessarily vague about tasks in which students would engage. We simply said we wanted to develop a more effective school social worker, that several methods of intervention would be employed, that we would want to place students in teams, and that we viewed the school, the community, and the pupils in an interrelated fashion. School administrators were receptive to the notion that, through this

training program, we would be redefining the roles and tasks of school social workers. However, if administrators were receptive to the program, there was much less enthusiasm from the regular school social work staff. Our primary intentions, which were either not understood or regarded as heretical, were these: 1) trying to work on behalf of numbers of children who were confronted with the same problem rather than one by one, 2) looking at the several systems, including the school itself, that impacted on the child himself, 3) working in an interdisciplinary fashion, and 4) using a variety of methodological approaches.

Initially it seemed as if we were creating a minor revolution. Accustomed as many of the school social workers were to individual casework, and with the introduction of therapeutic groups being perceived as very progressive, the idea of enabling school systems to change practices and conditions rather than helping a child to adapt must have seemed strange.

The difficulty we had securing field work supervisors was inevitable. Some administrators felt that their social work staff could not supervise due to time constraints or unfamiliarity with the school-community-pupil approach. In schools where field instructors were provided, the methods of supervision often were predominantly so traditional that they did not fit the team approach or did not advance the concepts which students had learned. Thus, during the first year we agreed to provide project faculty as field instructors. While this practice had the advantage of giving us greater control over the educational process, it did not meet the agreed-upon objective of building our approach into the school's social work program.

As a partial remedy we instituted, concurrently with faculty provision of field instruction, a three-day workshop in the summer and followed through with a number of one-day workshops during the semester. These were attended by public school administrators, social work supervisors and potential supervisors, psychologists and counselors, and community representatives. While the sessions had an evaluative component, they served primarily to interpret the program. Intern teams described their work in such a way as to raise the question of value and technological skill. As the representative of a given

school district listened to its team, identification began to grow. As it turned out, community representatives were particularly supportive of the students' efforts. Employing the problem-solving steps that students had been taught, project faculty engaged the workshop participants in "brainstorming" about the restraining forces which were acting as obstacles to the program. Two major questions were raised as themes for discussion. These were: What could the school-community-pupil program better do to prepare interns for the school district? and What could the school districts do to provide a better learning experience for the interns? The responses were of structural, attitudinal, and technological dimensions.

Over time, the sense that this was an experiment, a demonstration in which the university personnel did not have all of the answers but would respond to input from the field, led to a beginning partnership that eventually proved most rewarding. By the end of the workshops the school personnel, the interns, and the project faculty were able to define several tasks to be completed by each party that would make for a better program. For example:

1. A faculty member was assigned to work at school sites to develop and clarify supervisory (or team leader) tasks which were different from those used in traditional supervision. In addition, this faculty member was to advance the program by sharing information with team leaders about such matters as course content, new concepts, problem solving and systems approaches, and new terminology.

2. Learning objectives with performance criteria were developed and submitted for revision to interns and field instructors. There were at least four drafts before a final performance objective document was produced. This document also helped delimit the areas for which the program might take responsibility (Anderson, 1974a; also see Anderson, 1974b).

3. A comprehensive handbook for use by the schools was developed. This handbook covered the philosophy, academic and field experience objectives, curriculum, field instruction, cooperative relationships, and the evaluation process.

Interns' Problems. Interns were expected to assume considerable initiative in designing their work and to prepare for the risks involved in deviating from standard performance of social workers already employed. One persistent problem was the way in which they were viewed. In some instances they were regarded as experts, while at other times they were treated as if they had no knowledge. This double standard was particularly difficult for students in that they tended to feel that they were regarded as experts at the very time they needed help and were regarded as novices at the time that they wished to infuse new knowledge.

The majority of black students seemed to have a particularly difficult time as interns. The forces of racism were sometimes overt, sometimes subtle, but in any case they were felt. The increase in the number of black students in the program helped to meet the objective of training non-white students, but this increase was not without attendant problems. Several school districts, although serving poor people, were in all-white areas and could not accept black interns. Even with an occasional breakthrough in this respect, black students usually did not choose to go to these districts since their preference was to work with black children. While the more mature black students, most of whom had had considerable experience in white institutions, were comfortable in teaming with white students, several of the younger students who were graduates of black colleges wanted to team with other black students. This combination of factors, i.e., school district locale and black students' preferences, resulted in some all-black teams in a school district, a phenomenon which appeared theatening to some school personnel.

Black students, too, were subject to the duality mentioned earlier. On the one hand they were welcomed, since it was thought that they would be particularly able to discern the problems of black pupils. On the other hand, when they attempted to plan innovative action around the black students' needs, they felt discouraged from doing so. Although this was true for interns in general, black students tended to feel that racial overtones were present. Perhaps their most frequent complaint was their feeling of being patronized and being tagged as "supersensitive."

It was a practice of the black faculty of the project to discuss these concerns with the black student interns. Techniques were suggested for directly confronting the individual with whom they were having difficulty. There were occasions when a comment or a rejection of an activity was not necessarily related to racial questions but was inherent in the supervisor-student relationship or in bureaucratic procedures which had to be followed. In most instances, the difficulties were resolved.

Teaming

In the school-community-pupil model of school social work practice, social work students were placed in schools as teams, for the purpose of accomplishing tasks which could reach target groups of pupils. Team members were required to identify and assess problem situations, recognize the complexity of the various systems which might have to be worked with, develop a plan of action, divide the tasks, and share in the implementation and evaluation of the outcomes.

One process in teaming is that of getting the task accomplished, usually referred to as task maintenance. Another is maintaining the relationships among team members, referred to as "group maintenance," which is the more basic of the two processes. Obviously, if the team does not work well together, the tasks may not be accomplished. Some of the student teams worked exceptionally well together; others had problems. In some instances, as soon as teams had begun to work in school districts, they were deliberately separated by school personnel. In other instances, the separation was not as overt, but students felt they were being encouraged to dispense with the team. Thus, they not only had to deal with group maintenance because of personality differences, but they also had to contend with external forces in order to keep the concept of teams alive.

The project faculty also had to act as a team, and as such engage in systematic planning, clarifying concepts and ideas, sharing problems, and dividing tasks. The team frame of reference and commitment to the program helped the faculty team to learn how to resolve conflicts, and to confront their own internal differences and external resistances. Students had been taught that, should one member of the team not be able to carry out his/her assigned task, another member should be so

familiar with the plans that she/he could step in. And so it was with the project faculty.

Institutionalization

Establishing a demonstration program amidst the ongoing process of an institution is usually difficult. It is difficult, too, to separate the tasks of the project that went into institutionalization from the intents of other project activities. Some techniques which proved helpful were:

1. Developing relationships with other necessary systems to secure cooperation, legitimization, and sanction. For example, one faculty member worked with the statewide professional association of school social workers; another with the state office of public instruction. Financial support from the latter was most helpful.

2. Building the program in other systems. While we were particularly concerned with our own need to develop adequate field instructors, we found our work with them often involved a consultative relationship around problems they faced in their work outside of the supervision.

3. Disseminating information to many systems. We tried to keep faculty not involved in the project abreast of our activities. Giving speeches at conferences, assuming leadership of workshops, and publishing articles were viewed as useful dissemination activities.

4. Gradually including faculty members not originally identified with the project in some of the program tasks.

5. Continually interpreting to non-project faculty the usefulness of their courses to the students in the program, helping them to see that we were not an isolated program at the university.

6. Graduating students into school systems where they might utilize the school-community-pupil approach and continuing to offer consultation to them.

7. Developing the field manual handbook.

8. Establishing evaluation procedures.

Institutionalization, however, is a double-edged sword. The excitement and the challenges that were so apparent initially are

bound to be dulled by the routine stabilization required in finally adopting a program. For the steps in organizational development, while necessary, tend to produce a more moderate outcome. With institutionalization, the creative effort with which the program began must now be directed and channelled; the change strategies that were used to bring about adoption of the program are no longer necessary, reducing the aura of the challenges; the collaborative arrangements that have been developed most often mean compromise. Thus we do something that we might not originally have agreed or intended to do in order to "sell" or continue the program—we redefine our techniques to reduce risk and resistance. Although the outcome might be less exciting, we stifle the "charging ahead" impulses for purposes of better assessment and greater involvement of others. Institutionalization can itself be viewed as a dynamic by which the innovative program is no longer considered "special." What was new and different to the established system is now part and parcel of that system. The work, then, around that program becomes one of maintenance, at least until the next cycle of the change process sets in.

Evaluation

Feedback and evaluation are critical aspects of an innovative program. Formal evaluation of this project was conducted at four levels: 1) by the school-community-pupil program itself; 2) by the Midwest Center at Indiana University; 3) by the Illinois State Office of Public Instruction (now the State Office of Education), also a funder in the form of stipends to the students; and 4) the Leadership Training Institute, a national resource to the program. In addition, the Jane Addams School conducted evaluations which included all students in the School and provided important feedback to the School-Community-Pupil program.

The final evaluation set out to determine whether the objectives had been met. Earlier evaluation material, plus formally conducted interviews with interns, supervisors, and administrators, interns' daily logs, a volume count instrument, a time-role analysis, interns' plans of operation, pre and post tests, academic courses, and performance objective evaluations were analyzed. (See *A Final Program Report* for fuller discussion of evaluative methods and results.)

A unique aspect of the evaluation process was the involvement of students who would themselves be interns in schools in the following year and who would also be evaluated. During the first semester, five students worked with the evaluators to refine the objectives and develop the evaluation design. During the second semester, twenty students collected data. The primary objective was to enable students to learn the techniques of program evaluation. The by-products were equally as important. By assessing the program of which they were a part, the students became familiar with its problems and strengths, and could more realistically plan for their own entry into the school system.

Conclusion

In some ways, the structural arrangements involved in preparing students to be agents of change are not much different from any social work training program. Curricula must be developed, field placements must be located, and faculty with an appropriate knowledge base must be recruited to teach. The more provocative issues faced by the leaders of this program included: the question of adequate skills training, the integration of theory and practice, the nature of working relationships between academics and field workers, and the provisions for accountability. In this program the concepts of social work practice, organizational development, and systems theory were combined to guide the action and implementation.

The implications of change are indeed threatening in spite of lip-service given to acceptance of change. The term "change agent," like so many words in our vocabulary, has been taken out of context and misapplied. In the presence of what was becoming in the professional literature an intensified attack on a major methodology (casework), the idea of redefining roles and tasks suggested an ineffectiveness of earlier methods and served as a threat to the practitioners with whom we wanted to work. Thus, the tasks of maintaining, developing, and launching such a new program are complicated by stresses and strains, some of which I have attempted to grapple with here, while addressing the primary question—"What did you do and how did you do it?"

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CHAPTER VI

Introducing Change in School-Community-Pupil Relationships: Maintaining Credibility and Accountability

Richard J. Anderson

In systems change-oriented practice there is a need for both indicators of accountability and the maintenance of credibility. The approach described here includes a negotiated selection of problems, the use of a team approach as an asset for making a system impact, and a written plan of operations. The plan of operations specifies the problem selected, the strategy of intervention to be employed, time lines for its accomplishment, and an evaluation activity at the conclusion. Extracts from student field learning situations are used for illustrative purposes.

Introduction

The School-Community-Pupil Services Program of the Jane Addams Graduate School of Social Work is a training program that attempts to bring about change in the pupil personnel services of public elementary schools. We feel that through this program changes can be brought about that will affect the way in which the school system responds to the children. Our notion is that pupil personnel workers' efforts in the school can go beyond modifying a child's or his family's behavior to that of modifying the school's behavior. It is not simply a matter of adjusting children to the school but adjusting the school to children.

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Lela B. Costin and Sonya M. Clay were faculty team members in the School-Community-Pupil Services Program and contributed to the ideas presented in this paper. Ione D. Vargus prepared the introductory statement.

Excerpts from the reports of the following social work interns are quoted in this paper: Caron Wyland, Barbara Young, Rebecca Buchner, Daniel Rodell, David Sanders, and Mildred Brooks.

With this conviction in mind we have established a program for educating social work students to team up with other professionals (e.g. psychologists, nurses, and counselors) to bring about needed changes for groups of children. The students work with a problem situation that affects larger groups of children rather than with individual children. Their basic approach is problem-solving and planning to initiate or revise programs and policies affecting these children. We have a major concern with school systems serving minority children and communities.

An Expanded Curriculum

In order to educate our students effectively for this function we have had to expand their knowledge and methods' base. They must understand the characteristics of and ordering in those systems. They must understand how to assess and evaluate programs in that system, including their own work. They must understand the process of intervening in the system as well as finding effective ways for delivering the services they introduce. As a result, three courses for these "new professionals" in the school have been established: The School as a Public Institution, Program Evaluation, and Intervention Strategies for Change. We use a strong advisement approach to help students acquire complementary courses elsewhere in the School of Social Work or in other departments.

The Field Internship

The internship in the second year of the program takes place in school systems for twelve months. In moving into the change role in these systems, there are many vulnerabilities for the students. Their functions are misperceived and misunderstood and their presence raises strains and tensions (as any good change process does). Some people already in the system want them to be "traditional," and there is pressure to diffuse any team operation that does more than meet around a "diagnostic" or case conference. Thus in our field instruction a paramount concern is with human relations and use of self-skills. Much attention must be paid to how students transmit their knowledge and convictions and how they influence others.

A major responsibility of any person acting as a change agent is to maintain credibility with client systems and professional associates while fulfilling the accountability functions associated with the employer-employee relationship. In the public school setting the employer is the board of education. In actual practice, the sanction to perform assigned tasks is awarded or witheld by the school administration, represented by a principal or a central office administrator such as the superintendent or a director of a program, including the school social work service.

Each of these administrative staff people hold or have access to the power to neutralize or prevent the change agent from effective activity. Therefore a very early task in system change within the public school setting is to develop support. While developing administrator support may be construed as a limiting feature to the type of changes that can be addressed, without this support there would be little chance to effect any worthwhile change. Also, the school social work program may have an exceedingly short tenure.

The approach to credibility and accountability used in the school-community-pupil program combines elements of three traditional functions routinely accepted by social workers, even though not always implemented equally in practice: (1) recording, whether on individual clients or groups of clients; (2) social worker communication with agency administrators, such as monthly or periodic reports on practice activity; and (3) evaluation activities in relationship to practice.

These functions were reformulated for the school-community-pupil project: first, change agent needs to have a form of "recording" that will serve as a monitoring device on practice; second, agency (school) administrators must be well informed about what the school social worker is doing and expects to be doing, otherwise it is likely that the pressures on the administrators to prevent change-oriented activity will be intolerable; and third, social workers customarily use caseload volume, number of contacts, or some similar measure as an index of work accomplished. There is a need for change agents operating in a highly intangible area to develop a reporting device that includes an accountability feature.

Accountability

In the judgment of faculty involved in the development of the school-community-pupil project the measure of accomplishment as an index of work done would be a critical feature of the program and would probably become central to its continuation in the public schools. To address this problem through the graduate school program research seminars titled "Program Evaluation" were created.

The first of the seminars was designed to help the student learn how to resolve the credibility-accountability problem. The second course served to monitor the students' progress in performing this activity while assigned to field work in the public schools. Examples of student reports were used to serve as illustrations.

Following acceptance of the initial field work assignment, groups of students were expected to work together as a team or to associate themselves with other school staff to form a team. However, student members needed to do a self-assessment of their interests and capabilities. This first assgimment had two related objectives. First, students repeatedly would be asked by local school staff, "What can you do?" This question required an honest answer. The second part was that beginning students typically had either misty-eyed daydreams about the great changes they could bring about that can correct the deficiencies of the public school system, or they were so anxious that they didn't think they could accomplish any change. The self-assessment was designed to help the students identify the reality of their own talents and interests. Here is an example from one team's initial self-assessment:

> As a team of school social work interns, we wish to initially, concretely conceptualize what our roles will be within the system, and the coordination with the appropriate administrative persons. We feel that in so doing, we will be more able to realistically formulate methodology for evaluating our performance, develop channels for giving progressive feedback to appropriate persons, and will be more willing to accept accountability for our team and our individual success or failure.

Following their statement of team assessment, this group of students worked out a brief outline of how they expected to work together and then developed a statement of competence and interest.

The next step in the process of developing credibility and accountability was expected to be a needs assessment by the student interns in the local school district. Working as a team, there was a plan to have the students identify problem situations that were of major concern to the school district and yet falling within an area in which the students had some competence. Very quickly, both students and faculty realized that the local school officials already knew of many major problems affecting pupils and parents and were usually willing to identify these for the school social work interns. Consequently, the needs assessment really involved an investigation of the problem situations presented to the students by school officials. Following this investigation the students selected the problem situations they would address and then began to develop a plan of operation.

The Problem Situation and Action Objectives

The problem situation plan of operation involved several different approaches to practice that were not uniquely new in themselves but when put together in one total package became innovative and important. Therefore, the investigation of the student team included defining the problem situation. This might involve more data gathering, as well as the identification of a much larger problem situation. The piece of the larger problem was one that the student intern team believed it could manage with some chance of success.

It was also during this period that other school staff members were identified as resource people with whom the team members would wish to associate closely. Several constraints were involved in the selection of these problem situations. Two of the most important were the recognition that the social work students performed at a beginning competence level and the time line period or length of their placement. The problem situation selected had to be one that beginning students could make some impact upon in the relatively short time available during the field placement.

Students gathered simple baseline definition data and developed a behavioral type practice objective that the team members felt competent to address. The following is an example of this:

> *Baseline data:* The number of recorded fights during a recent four-week period at _____ elementary school was eight.
>
> *Practice objective:* Within a twelve-week period following the team beginning date, the number of recorded fights during recess and after school will drop to 50 percent or less in a comparable four-week period.

A second example was developed from the desire of a new school superintendent to develop better parent-school communication. The student team stated this as a general goal: "The major goal of the program being established is that of facilitating communication between the schools and the most alienated neighborhoods in the district." In this case the students could not collect baseline data so instead very specific time-limited objectives were established. The following is an abbreviated outline of the time-limited objectives:

> *September 27:* Recruitment of neighborhood outreach workers. Fourteen individuals to be recruited to work in the selected neighborhoods.
>
> *October 17:* Training of outreach workers completed, orientation of selected school officials completed. Joint discussion by outreach workers and school officials of issues likely to be discussed as neighborhood contacts were initiated.
>
> *October 26-November 12:* Outreach workers begin individual parent contacts.
>
> *November 12-December 8:* Outreach workers set up group get-togethers in the neighborhoods with appropriate school officials present.
>
> *December 8-December 17:* Neighborhood groups may visit schools.
>
> *January 5:* Outreach workers, school officials, and pupil service team members evaluate activities. A written report is prepared.

From the calendar developed above elaborating on the generalized goal, the student interns drew up a set of action objectives, approved by the school officials and accepted by the team participants. In this case, the team participants were other school staff members and the outreach workers. Here is a sample of the action objectives for the outreach worker teams.

1. Make individual contact with 25 problem families in each neighborhood.

2. Make individual contact with 3 to 6 established neighborhood leaders.

3. Identify and begin to involve 3 to 6 existing community organizations.

4. Hold at least 6 informal neighborhood get-togethers with parents or students who have voiced similar concerns.

These action objectives make the charge to the workers very clear, but they serve an equally important function of informing and reporting to the involved school officials what is happening and what will be happening.

In this illustration, several school officials would be participating at a later stage of the project. Therefore, it became critical to the success of the project to have their cooperation. Even though all of the neighborhood outreach workers did not complete every objective, the evaluation of their activities explained why this was not possible in each particular neighborhood. For example, in reference to action objective number 4, in one neighborhood of about 60 families the outreach workers couldn't get the parents together for meetings. The parents reported that they gossiped with each other regularly and they saw no need for special meetings.

The development of such specific objectives was a difficult task for the student interns but they found that it had ready acceptance by school officials. It was very easy for the school officials to understand the purpose of the social work intern team activity. Consequently, there was reduced concern about the methodology the student interns might use.

Even though the concern of the school officials was reduced through the development of specific objectives, the student interns maintained major responsibility for developing their own action strategy. Following completion of the objectives they had to prepare a written description of what they would do to attain the objectives.

Again, they were to be as specific and complete as possible and were to establish a schedule, listing the completion date of the tasks necessary to the attainment of the objectives. We have provided one example of an abbreviated timeline schedule and what follows is another example of this type of work. Here the objective was to significantly reduce the mean truancy rate using the previous academic year as a baseline. Five truant boys who did not meet the operational definition were included in the group along with other youngsters who did. The strategy that was developed is described as follows.

> The team representative decided to work with the boys in a group, the group to be co-led by the former on a weekly basis during regular academic class periods. It was felt that more children could be reached through the group work approach to the particular dysfunction, and that children unmotivated to perform well academically and behaviorally through traditional means such as exclusion, punishment, or humiliation might do so if peer pressure could be controlled and directed in a constructive way. . . . The group met at least once a week during staggered class periods of fifty minutes. Initially, the team representatives probed to find areas of common interest that would induce students to express themselves in a strange behavior setting, build a group rapport among pupils and social workers, and serve as powerful incentives for constructive group efforts.

Timelines were established as follows: group meetings to begin in October, and the reduction of the rate of truancy to be achieved by June 15 of the same academic year.

This team was unable to specify intermediate timeline intervals and therefore became bogged down in the process of working with the pupils. They had a process going but they

had no short-range objectives. This resulted in their inability to know whether they were making immediate progress.

Another team addressed the unwed mother population of a school district. Because the pregnancies could occur at any time, the first timeline established was the identification and contact with the girl within the first four months of pregnancy. The purpose of the first conversation was to talk with the girl and her parents about inclusion in the unwed mothers program. Simultaneously, efforts were made to enable her to receive medical guidance and follow-up.

The next timeline was to enroll the expectant mother in the unwed mothers program by the fifth month of pregnancy. The next timeline was to insure that home-bound instruction was available for the unwed mother following the delivery of the baby. A follow-through timeline was to insure that the girl returned to school and the regular academic program when the physician determined it was appropriate. The final objective was to include this unwed mother as an agent to help identify other pregnant girls, and at the same time phasing this specific unwed mother out of the special program.

The student intern teams found that after they had developed their specific objectives and their plan for interventive strategy, the practical business of communicating with other school staff members and school administrators about what they were doing became much easier. Ordinarily, progress reports from the intern teams could be completed in a very brief oral presentation. The progress report activity was one that could best be characterized as informal, friendly, and usually received with an expression of interest and support by the school administrator. The one facet of consistent praise from the school administrators about the program was the reporting feature that allowed the school administrators to understand what the school social work intern team was about and the expected progress toward the attainment of these specific objectives.

Evaluation

Evaluation of activities as intangible as those the students were performing is always difficult to do in a thoroughly scientific and impartial manner. On the other hand, it is

feasible and necessary to assess these activities, if for no other reason than that it develops a sense of professional security and competence. However, the major reason was so that the school staff members with whom they were associated would come to understand the effort being made to determine the results of the activities.

The evaluative activities essentially took two forms. The most common was a written paragraph description of the results of the activities. The description was in relation to the social work intern team's assessment of whether its objectives had been met. For example, in the project to increase school-parent communication, the neighborhood outreach workers and school staff members wrote a joint evaluation report of their activities. The school social work intern literally became a collator and editor of the evaluation reports prepared by the others. The intern then assembled and organized these materials so that they could be presented to the appropriate school administrator as a report of the semester's work. From these reports the intern developed recommendations for future activities that could be used to further develop the school-parent communication effort.

In some of the other projects undertaken by the intern teams, it was necessary to return and gather baseline data or reports of other school staff members on their observation of the problem situation. In the illustration of fighting among elementary school children, it was a simple matter of asking the school personnel to again count fights as they had done before. This would indicate the success or failure of the interventive activities. In addition, the student intern obtained paragraph descriptions of the pupil behavior as written by teachers and principal. This made a comprehensive evaluative report on the progress in reducing the fights among the children at this particular elementary school.

Conclusion

It is difficult for students to learn how to develop a written plan of operation. Usually the instruction received in methods courses is on how to do it rather than on demonstrating that what is done will accomplish a specific objective identified

prior to the implementation of the social work method. The student interns in this program did not grasp the importance of the process of maintaining credibility and accountability until some time had passed. Then questions from colleagues and school officials asking, "What are you doing?" or "What have you done?" were easily addressed. In effect the answer could be, "I'm doing what we agreed was important and necessary and am carrying out my plan."

CHAPTER VII

A Team Approach to School Social Work

Ione D. Vargus

Guiding Assumptions and Overview

The focus on team training in the School-Community-Pupil (S-C-P) project was guided by two assumptions:

1. Teaming would enhance the interaction and cooperation among the pupil personnel service workers in the school systems.
2. Teaming would provide a method of service delivery that would incorporate two of the major project objectives: working on behalf of larger numbers of neglected pupils, and bringing about systemic changes in the schools.

The concept of teams was readily accepted by school personnel during negotiations for field placement of students. Operationally, however, while the value of the team concept in some school districts exceeded our anticipation, in other school districts it only minimally met our expectations. All student interns were expected to use a team approach. In the curriculum course work we theorized a model that called for each team member having responsibility to perform a different task in a given problem situation, working in concert and in an interrelated fashion with other team members. As simple as this might seem on paper, the actual process of building relationships, developing teams, and maintaining teams was difficult. With the exception of only one school district, interns had to initiate the operation of teams or had to redefine the team concept from that of a diagnostic team to a problem-solving team in order to meet the S-C-P project objectives.

Team Models

There were nearly as many different team models and styles of working as there were student teams. The various kinds of

team formats could be classified broadly within the following structures:

1. A team initiated by an intern but composed of appropriate school personnel to work on a given problem area. Personnel involved included not only other pupil personnel workers but also principals, teachers, students, and paraprofessionals. Such teams tended to be ad hoc, and the team's lifespan might last from several weeks to several months.
2. A team of social work interns and their team leader(s) which began initially as a group and spanned the entire field placement. While persons from other disciplines might be involved in varying ways, the team itself was basically responsible for problem situation identification and implementation.
3. Interdisciplinary pupil personnel workers teams which also spanned the entire field placement.

This flexibility in team organization was determined by such factors as the number of interns in a given school or school district; the school system's openness to new ideas and innovative practices; the portion of the school district covered by the team; the discipline of the team leader (field instructor); and the number of pupil personnel workers in the school district.

Team Working Style

The factors influencing organization also influenced the working style of the team. Some teams worked as a unit with each team member assuming a different task. Some teams, particularly those divided into two-member units by a school system, tended to work in a supportive fashion. Some teams worked as a unit in planning and implementing some projects, but individual team members would become specialists in a problem area as well. The specialist kept team members adequately informed of the activities so that another team member could step in in an emergency, as did happen on occasion.

One of our staff members noted another factor that affects the particular style of the team:

> Also important are personality characteristics, such as tolerance for close, regular, intensive contact; ability or inability to confront in a constructive manner; need for individual, successful demonstration and expression of skill and knowledge; patience; ability to involve each other in decision making and planning; confidence; trust, a basic liking and warmth for each other and the ability to express these emotions; and general compatability among all or most of the team members. (Clay, 1973)

To some extent conflict can be productive, as was noted by Luenberger (1973): "Conflict among individual team members as well as conflict between team members and the total organization is inevitable and in many instances a positive force for team and organizational development." However, we found that where conflict management and resolution is not adroitly handled, team style can be adversely affected.

The Team Leader

About midway through the demonstration of the program, faculty began to refer to field instructors not as supervisors but as "team leaders." This evolved rather naturally out of our awareness that a team of students needed a different kind of leader-relationship from the one-to-one supervision mode with which field instructors were familiar. The title "team leader," connoting less authority, greater collegiality and joint enterprise, was not lost on field instructors, some of whom admitted initially to being threatened by the change in title.

Traditionally, the social work supervisor is expected to direct the entire field experience of the student, performing the functions of administrator, teacher, and consultant. The supervisor generally acts as the link between the administrative hierarchy and the students. Although a team leader continues to carry these roles, he or she need not do so to the same extent because these functions are shared with team members.

Briggs (1973) states that

> The position of the team leader is perhaps the most influential and certainly the most challenging position on the team. . . . He is the final arbitrator on agency

> and professional matters and assumes ultimate responsibility for the quality and kind of service the team provides. . . . He carries out his position by performing such roles as administrator, data manager, evaluator, mobilizer, teacher, consultant, community planner, broker, advocate . . . .

Briggs' suggestion that the team leader is the most influential member, and is the final arbitrator on agency and professional matters, could tend to perpetuate some of the concerns that professional workers have voiced about traditional supervision. While the team leaders in the S-C-P project were invaluable because of their knowledge of the school system and their experience, the S-C-P interns were expected to assume as team members any of the roles mentioned in the Briggs quote. In fact, such a role analysis was conducted as part of the formal evaluation. Team leaders did have ultimate responsibility administratively since they were employees of the school system, but we encouraged students to feel that the responsibility was theirs as a group. All members had to share a sense of accountability to administrators and be concerned equally with the quality of the team's work. Throughout the processes of identifying the problem situation, conducting an assessment of the problem, developing a plan of operation, identifying the tasks and assigning these on the basis of competence, implementing the plan, recording team activities, and evaluating the outcomes, each team member was expected to be conscious of quality and accountability.

To questions regarding team leadership in the evaluation questionnaire, half of the students responding felt that a designated team leader was not necessary for maintaining the direction of the team effort. Rather, it was felt that the team was guided by the competency of its members and its stance of cooperation. On the other hand, 21 out of 23 students indicated that a task-oriented form of leadership does emerge in the team. The leaders, however, might be different persons at different times.

Because there was a heavy emphasis on team dynamics in the academic courses, students were often more knowledgeable about teams than were their field instructors, or "team leaders"

as they were called. The project encouraged team leaders to meet in a separate group in order to learn from one another and share their experiences in this role. Team leaders did indicate, during the evaluation period, that this approach to supervision not only reduced the burden of responsibility on them as field instructors, but helped them to conceptualize problems differently.

Case Examples

The following examples of team activity, process and leadership are adapted from Clay (1974):

> Example 1: A team of three interns was placed in an urban school community which was racially mixed. The pupil personnel services had been well defined and had acquired an excellent reputation. The approach to social work was clinical; interdisciplinary teams were used primarily at "intake" to diagnose a problem of an individual pupil.
>
> The intern team became oriented to the school district and the community several months before entering their actual field placement in July. Several problem situations were identified for the team. These were: pupil dissatisfaction with schools in grades 7-12; lack of parental involvement with schools; and cultural distance between teachers and pupils. A social worker, psychologist, and counselor were selected as team leaders. Since the latter were to be on vacation when the interns officially began their placements, the team drew up a summer plan of operation for team leader approval, and were then left to follow through on this. The summer plan of operations included: 1) becoming familiar with community service agencies, especially those which had numerous contacts with the school district; 2) observing different classrooms in the summer school; 3) surveying the summer school population, both pupils and teachers, with regard to needs; 4) following through on the needs assessment with some concrete program or actions; 5) getting acquainted with the neighborhoods in the six target schools to which they had been assigned; and 6) conducting a survey among families in the area regarding school related interests, concerns, and problems.

Following through on this plan kept the team busy. A few personality conflicts emerged in team meetings, but through an understanding of process, these were dealt with quite adequately. When the team leaders returned, they received a report on the summer activities, and made recommendations about what might be tackled as a major project, based on combined information from administrators during the spring orientation, summer school teachers, and families.

After school began, the interns met weekly with team leaders. Team leaders, in turn, met bimonthly around intern activities and problems. Team leaders actively participated in two of the major activities initiated by interns and gave feedback and needed guidance on all the others. In turn, interns were involved with several projects initiated by team leaders. Gradually, the two groups began to merge and move toward peer supervision, maintaining an atmosphere of shared learning. Team leaders were especially helpful in supporting intern talks with administrators, particularly when these involved interpreting their plan for work on the cultural distance problem. All involved realized the need for strong administrative support.

As the year progressed, there were opportunities for the development of casework skills and uses in which all members of the intern team were deficient. Team leaders used group supervision and role playing, and also assigned background reading. Each intern was able to do one family therapy case, consulting with a staff member of the local family service agency due to the heavy schedule of the team leaders. All the interns and team leaders were involved in the development of a school council, in classroom management with teachers, and in the human relations workshop. Since the workshop was school district-wide, other staff and administrators were an important part of the planning for it. For each of their major projects the team developed proposals with time lines and charts. These were revised and refined over time in team meetings and in meetings with the team leaders. They provided a firm guide and

anchor for the interns to move out with confidence, even in the initial assessment steps, because they had already brain-stormed and were acquiring a grasp of the total process.

Ongoing consultation with other pupil personnel staff became a regular feature of the team experience. The psychologist, counselor, and staff social workers in other school buildings became ad hoc members of the team.

Example II: This team of three interns was placed in a rural educational region consisting of eight small school districts. There were no Blacks in these communities. However, some Chicanos, who came yearly as immigrant workers, had settled in the towns. Pupil personnel services consisted of limited psychological services and fairly adequate counseling, but no social worker services.

The team entered the field placement in July. For the summer, this team was assigned to work in a school for migrant workers who were in the area. Many of these children did not attend school, could not speak English, and were generally deprived of recreational as well as educational opportunities. The team leader was a principal with a great interest in the problems of these children and their families and had helped organize the school the summer before. He was paid extra to provide the interns with guidance and team leadership during the summer. He was vitally interested in both the kind of training they had and in their orientation to service. Members of the team and the team leader planned and carried out a project of developing parent groups with the aid of a young Chicano who became part of the team. The Chicano on the team served as an interpreter and a group leader.

During the fall, the team had to develop a plan for relating to the several school districts served there. In doing so, they established working relationships with staff members of the special education cooperative. Families in these rural districts were slow to warm to the interns. Interns worked hard to cultivate the trust of

community/school leaders such as the school nurse, who had the confidence of nearly everyone. She became part of the team (which included two members of the intern team and a county psychologist) created to move around in four school districts.

By the end of the field placement, the administrators of the school districts were superlative in their praise of the team. They were particularly appreciative of the intern team's accountability procedures, i.e., keeping them informed through clear-cut proposals, weekly logs and written progress reports.

In addition to projects already mentioned, some of the other problems on which intern teams worked were as follows:

Truancy, potential dropouts, suspension policies, "socially maladjusted" boys, integration of handicapped into regular classroom, student rights, transition from elementary to junior high, community and parental involvement, racial conflicts, desegregation, alternative education, transportation, school lunch problems, drug education, and vocational education.

Conclusion

Certainly the S-C-P students gained skills in team management. Equally as important, the focus on teams heightened the students' consciousness with regard to cooperation, use of resources, recognition of expertise of others, and recognition of the dependent nature of human services on behalf of consumers. Interpersonal and behavioral skills, practice skills, and systematic planning skills were fostered through team member interaction in ways that are sometimes not captured in academic course work.

Finch (1973), in exploring the implications for team training of public welfare staff, notes that with the introduction of a team approach, training staff began to recognize that the concepts and principles that had guided staffing patterns, assignment of cases, and supervision of workers were outdated. He states:

A most important facet at the planning stage is that new methods for the training of staff will need to be delivered—

training which must go beyond the teaching of knowledge and specific tasks which a worker will need in order to perform his individual job assignment—in order to teach the worker to perform as part of a team.

The experience in the S-C-P project tends to confirm this observation. The use of the team approach requires a reorientation in thinking toward staff patterns. Moreover, service is not as easily measured by the "caseload" or number of clients a worker sees; new recording instruments have to be devised. With the team approach, supervision is performed quite differently. In fact, the team leader may escape those charges of dependency, game-playing and "case working the worker" that the last decade of literature on supervision has decried.

Teaming is not without its frustrations, and it should be considered as only one of the many approaches to social service delivery in an institution. Nonetheless, where there is a concern for delivering services on a wider scale, and where there is a wish to act upon the many systems that impact on consumers of social work services, the team approach holds much promise as a useful vehicle.

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CHAPTER VIII

Present Conditions and Future Directions

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In the spring of 1975, a conference on Social Work and the Public School was held under the auspices of the Jane Addams School of Social Work. The conference was to fulfill part of a dissemination plan as one outcome of a three-year demonstration project housed at Jane Addams School of Social Work, a project already alluded to as the School-Community-Pupil project.

The purposes of the Conference were to disseminate experiences and findings of the School-Community-Pupil Training Program of 1971-74 to a diverse group of professionals interested in pupil services in the public schools; to invite opinion and critical evaluation of the school-community-pupil model of school social work practice; and to receive and compare related ideas and findings from new approaches to effective social work practice in the public schools.

Conference participants included consultants from state departments of education; a representative from the Council on Social Work Services in the Public Schools of the National Association of Social Workers; representatives from the Illinois Association of School Social Workers; social workers in the public schools of central Illinois; social work educators from other faculties of schools of social work; and social work students. The Conference was kept to a relatively small group to insure opportunity for active involvement and interaction among the participants.

The content of the discussion by conference participants during their two days together reflects to a considerable degree the status of social work in the public schools today—difficult problems identified, hard questions faced, and an absence of firm answers to those problems and questions. Many of the issues raised here have already been allued to by Costin, Vargus, and Anderson earlier in the monograph. The fact that there has been such agreement on the identifi-

cation issues facing school social workers suggests that the field is ripe for innovations in practice.

Common Themes in Conference Papers

Conference participants identified certain areas of agreement in concepts and principles, from among the papers presented by three faculty members from different schools of social work: Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Michigan School of Social Work, and the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration.

1. The primary focus of practice objectives should be on enhancement of pupil learning and the educational process. The intent is to increase equality of educational opportunities for individual or target groups of pupils and contribute to maximum development of all children in school and their preparation for societal roles. School social work objectives properly relate primarily to the school's educational functions and processes on behalf of children and young people.

In no way does this mean that there is no longer a place for casework in the schools, or that casework is not important. Task-centered treatment, as described in the Conference, is casework, a treatment approach fully transferable to different models of practice, including the school-community-pupil model of school social work. But the focus of the S-C-P model is not upon a satisfying relationship but upon physical, social, and cognitive factors and a successful completion of agreed upon tasks. The authors of each of the three papers agreed that school social work will continue, under any model of practice, to be subject to the need for some crisis intervention and for referral to community treatment sources, but these activities are not the main thrust of service, nor is the provision of clinical services. The school social work service has "limits to its domain"; it is not an "all-purpose family agency" nor a "therapeutic center," but a social work service designed to contribute to the education of children and young persons.

2. There was agreement, using different terminology at times, that practice in the schools needs to be planned and extended in relation to pupil characteristics and school practices, particularly teacher practices in the case of task-

centered casework, and in most models of practice today to the system of school-community-pupil relations, the social ecology of the school pupil. The focus is on those pupil characteristics which interact with home, school, and community conditions.

3. Those who presented papers stated a preference for moving toward greater reliance upon teams as a way of organizing and deploying school social work personnel. The kind of team will vary depending upon differences in school districts--sometimes an interdisciplinary team, sometimes made up only of social workers, but in any case characterized by a lack of hierarchy within the team, an emphasis upon consultation among team members formally and informally, and by use of a team leader for overall evaluation and system accoutability. It is not easy to create an interdisciplinary team in a school before the process of teaming has been demonstrated, but this does not mean that other school personnel are excluded from the problem-solving process.

4. There was agreement upon the necessity for a needs assessment, or a "problem search," i.e., collection of data for problem identification, and consultation with other school and/or community persons in identifying a target problem, whether of the individual child or a target group of pupils. There was agreement as well on the importance of focusing attention on the identified problem situation and using negotiation and logical cognitive discussion to arrive at agreed-upon tasks and resolution of obstacles of task achievement. The information to be gathered need not be exhaustive but should include all that is pertinent to the identified target problem of individual or group.

5. A contract for a unit of service should be made with the approrpiate school administrator(s) once an assessment has been made, a target problem identified, consultations have taken place with suitable school personnel, and a treatment plan decided upon. This may be a written plan of operation, as preferred in the school-community-pupil model, or it may be a verbal contract. In some situations, a written contract is perceived by the social work staff or other school personnel as a difficult undertaking and a barrier; a clear verbal agreement

with regular reporting and redefinition as needed may suffice. In either verbal or written contract, if the agreement isn't working, and it was a clear and firm agreement, the matter will usually need to be dealt with at the bottom level. If the plan works there, the contract will usually hold. One of the special attributes of the school as an agency setting is that there is a new beginning in each academic year with a new opportunity to set a program focus.

6. Another aspect of the preferred direction for social work in the schools was agreed upon by those who presented papers: A significant barrier to achieving change in school social work practice is the pervasive reluctance to give up the notion that we must fully understand the *etiology* of a problem before significant help can be given or change can be brought about.

Major Unanswered Questions

Much of the discussion among Conference participants was informal and free-ranging as the diverse group sought responses from others to their own pressing concerns about the status and future of school social work. In the end, more questions had been raised than answered.

For example, concern was expressed about the unevenness in the distribution of social work services in the schools. One state, Michigan, is attempting to serve all school children in the state. But to do so requires collaboration among school districts, universities and colleges that train the pupil specialists, state associations of the pupil specialists, and national professional organizations. That kind of continuing and objective cooperative planning has not been available.

How then do you staff a state educational system for social work services in all the schools? What are the most productive options for differential staffing patterns within a given state? If we turn to using more bachelor degree social workers in the schools, what are the gains to be had? What are the hazards? It is said that bachelor degree staff can be used to increase the effectiveness of master degree staff. But how? The profession has not made such distinctions clear. In practice it has been more difficult to differentiate the tasks of master degree and bachelor degree social workers than to assign tasks to para-professionals.

There are in this country many public schools which have no social work staff at all. Can't we devise and test out patterns of staffing which would use master degree personnel as resources for planning and consultation in order to provide a support system to inner city urban or rural school districts where social work services are nonexistent and badly needed? If teams working on interrelated problems so that the interventions are reinforcing, are an effective means of deploying social work personnel in a single district, why cannot a state develop an overall plan to bring social work services to all its school children?

Much of the discussion during the two days together had to do with the insecurities and isolation which school social workers appear to feel professionally. It is known that school social workers in different states and school districts carry an array of job titles, and each title implies a variation in focus and method of practice. They work in single schools, a number of schools, in central education administrative offices, and sometimes in children's service agencies or community mental health centers. The pool from which each draws his/her children to work with varies tremendously. They frequently work with little supervision and few formal liaisons.

Overall there is, apparently, a wide diversity in the conceptualization and pattern of service delivery. Perhaps this should not be regarded as a problem. Social workers hopefully will be creative, flexible, and original in their thinking and doing. But such conditions of practice erode a base for the development and maintenance of professional identity and give concern about a belief in the unique values of social work practice in a secondary setting, one which is primary for most of the families and children in this country.

The present activities of the Council on Social Work in the schools of NASW were described. The Council found itself faced with a lack of current data about such matters as the number of practicing social workers, in how many districts, in how many states, their characteristics, and prevailing standards for their work. So the chairman of the Council placed an open letter to all school social workers in the NASW News in January 1975, saying in effect "Where are you, who are you,

and do you even exist?" Spontaneous responses came from 23 states. While not definitive in conclusions, certain themes emerged from the responses. One was the need for a clear and firm professional identity as a school social worker. It was difficult to function in coalition with other professions when there was uncertainty about one's own professional identity and prevailing standards of work. That social workers felt the lack of a professional support system was apparent.

It was evident, too, from Conference discussion that many participants were expressing immense frustration because of the difficult problems with which they grapple within the public school and the lack of a felt professional support. Some talked about whether school social workers shouldn't turn towards other professional organizations for help, e.g., the American Personnel and Guidance Association, the American Educational Research Association, the Council on Exceptional Children, or the International Association of Pupil Personnel Workers. School social workers once had their own separate national organization; why not again, some asked, or at least a consortium of the expanding number of state associations of school social work.

Others talked about the dangers of splintering off and of putting exclusive support and work into state associations of school social work—the possibility of exchanging one organization for another which might identify and then be overwhelmed with the same problems as the first. And, it was pointed out, school social workers cannot find a full professional identity in educational organizations only; they are social workers and need the link to other fields of social work practice, e.g., child welfare and mental health, which a national social work organization should give.

Another theme had to do with needed qualifications and the question of better preparation to work in the public schools. This concern raised for Conference participants the question of what role the schools of social work are playing in making sure that trainees who choose to work in the schools have access to the kinds of specialized knowledge needed to work today in a public education setting. "How close are the schools of social work to practice in the schools?" one

participant asked. And is there any continuing collaboration between schools of social work and schools of education in the universities? Have we examined the risks to this field of social work practice if its educators and trainers are not in close touch with the disciplines of education?

Confusion about roles in a changing system of public education was part of nearly every response to the open letter. So, too, was the matter of accountability and public relations for school social work services. Clearly suggested was the need to strengthen professional identity, specify professional standards of practice, create guidelines for professional role delineation, and promote the value of the social work service to educational administrators and the public.

Much concern was expressed about the lack of readily available current learning material and publications on new ways of providing social services in the public schools. Practitioners tended to blame professional journal policies which, they said, favor articles describing theory or research. But others said that the difficulty was not just that journals won't accept "how to do it" articles; after all, our technologies are far from complete, and if we assess articles in social work journals, most still have that focus rather than theory building or reports of research. But one "how we did it" account is not as good as another. To be useful it must be linked to concepts, principles, and theory building. Innovative programs that have worked need to be related to earlier reporting for better generalizability.

One participant raised the question of whether school social workers read the professional literature. "I agree with what's been said—that the quantity of publication in school social work is small. I know that because it's easy to read it all in one sitting. What bothers me is that some of it is very good . . . and when I talk with people concerned with social work in the schools, I don't find many who have heard of the materials. The unpleasantness of my question is if the need is so great, why hasn't somebody found the good materials that do exist and passed them around?"

An available bibliography and a central repository of material for circulation was suggested as a service of professional organizations. But of course the questions had raised another: What

had been suggested about the responsibility of social work education if students are entering the public schools for practice and not continuing to read current professional literature? The need for opportunities for new learning is particularly acute for any personnel who hope to be effective in the public schools. Social work students must be helped to find ways to assume responsibility for their own continued learning and enhancement of capacity to adapt to change. This will require that they be provided the means, either in their professional education or in a program of continuing education, to acquire the knowledge they need in the schools. Participants mentioned these areas of knowledge as pressing needs: a thorough understanding of the school as a social system; the principles of social learning theory; the specifics of local bureaucracy; the nature of learning disabilities; variations in ways of organizing one's work; the way to do a needs assessment of a school-community-pupil system; the techniques of developing practice objectives and assessing measurable outcomes to practice.

At the conclusion of the Conference we had identified these major questions which await answers from the field of school social work practice and from the profession as a whole:

1. In the face of wide diversity among school social workers in job title, credentials, conceptions of school social work practice, and sizes, resources, and other characteristics of public schools, how can a body of necessary professional skills and competencies be identified and a professional identity be explicated?

2. To whom should this field of practice look for direction, standard setting, policy, and identification of competencies? What do school social workers have a right to expect of their national organization and other related professional organizations?

3. What is the optimal division of responsibility between state departments of education, schools of social work and of education in universities, state associations of school social workers, and national professional organizations, most particularly NASW, when it comes to standard setting and directions for practice?

4. What can be done about the essential need for continuing education among social workers in the schools? Other professions are searching for and building in ways of requiring continuing education for practice, e.g., the American Psychology Association, the American Medical Association. The need for new and continued learning is equally acute for workers in the complex and changing institution of public education.

At the end of the Conference, we came back to an observation which a participant had offered earlier: "The public school today, even with the best effort and the best intentions, remains a Pacific Ocean of problems; and we have only a thimble for intervention. But it is a good thimble." And to the extent that we identify the obstacles to more effective practice, and respond to them in a reasoned and creative way, we can make that thimble even better.

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